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## REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE SINCE THE LAST CONVENTION.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

In reviewing the history of the anti-slavery cause during the last three years, we have reason to congratulate ourselves and the friends of human freedom throughout the world on the advance which it has made, and we may gather assurance from the past, that if we steadily pursue our course, in the use of appropriate means, and in a spirit which becomes our great enterprise, we shall achieve the noble end we have in view.

It will be impossible within the limits we have assigned ourselves to do more than give a bare outline of facts connected with the progress of the anti-slavery cause, since the last Convention met within these walls; but meagre as our statement must be, it will be found full of interest, and cannot fail to inspire us with gratitude to Almighty God, for the blessing he has deigned to bestow on our labours, and with exalted hopes for the future.

We purpose to consider, in the first place, the progress of our sacred cause in reference to Great Britain. The abolition of the African slave-trade, so far as British subjects were concerned, and subsequently of the iniquitous system of slavery in the British colonies, left the philanthropists of this country free to direct their efforts to other departments of anti-slavery labour, and a little consideration soon taught them, that, however desirous they might be to co-operate with those of other countries in advancing their common cause, there was a wide field for exertion at home. The slave-trade and slavery yet existed in our Asiatic dominions and settlements; British subjects were still, in various ways and in various countries, devoting their wealth, enterprise, and skill in supporting and extending these iniquities; the laws of the emancipated colonies required to be brought into harmony with the great act for the abolition of slavery passed in 1833; and other points, though of less importance than these, yet viewed in connexion with the general question of abolition throughout the world, were of high interest to our cause.

1. Doubts having for many years existed whether the acts passed by the British Legislature for the suppression of the slave-trade, extended to British India, which had led to much discussion and inconvenience; an Act was passed during the last session of Parliament by the British Legislature, viz., 5 and 6 Vic., cap. 101, to extend the provisions of the 5 Geo. IV., cap. 113, commonly called the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act, to "the several and respective presidencies and places within the territories under the Government of the East India Company." Thus has the defect of jurisdiction been cured, and henceforth in that part of the empire, as well as in all others, the slave-dealer will be adjudged a pirate and felon, and punished accordingly.

2. It had long been the subject of complaint, that slavery had been permitted to grow up and extend itself at the British settlements of Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley, and that this evil system was fed by an equally iniquitous system of slave-trading, carried on chiefly by China-men and Malay pirates. At length, the remonstrances and memorials of the friends of abolition in this country have had the effect of terminating these abominations, and henceforth, at these settlements, the free only can exist. The act which secures this triumph for humanity, was passed, it is believed, at Fort William, Calcutta, on the 1st May last, and is as follows:—

"Whereas, in certain parts of the Straits' settlements, slavery has never had any legal existence, and in other parts, in which it is doubtful whether formerly it had such legal existence, it is no longer warranted by custom, or the supposed rights connected therewith have been expressly abandoned,

"It is hereby declared and enacted, that in no parts of the Straits' settlements shall the *status* of slavery be recognized as existing by law. And all courts and officers of law are hereby prohibited from enforcing any claims founded on any supposed rights of masters in regard to slaves within the settlements aforesaid, and are enjoined to afford protection to all persons against whom any supposed rights of slavery are attempted to be enforced."

By this time probably, the Act has reached the settlements and been proclaimed, and from 8,000 to 10,000 emancipated slaves are exulting in their freedom, and a foul system of slave-trafficking has been put down.

3. By the Act which renewed the Charter of the East India Company in 1833, viz., 3 and 4 of Gul. IV. cap. 85, it was enacted, that the "Governor-General in Council shall forthwith take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the territories of the East India Company so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe." Instead, however, of adopting measures for the purposes specified in the Act, inquiries only were instituted; but, finally, yielding to the

pressing instances of the abolitionists of this country, who were prepared to besiege Parliament in behalf of the Indian, as they had previously done in behalf of the negro slave, an Act was passed on the 6th of April last, by the Governor-General in Council, which virtually abolishes slavery throughout the whole of British India. It is as follows:—

"An Act for declaring and amending the law regarding the condition of slavery within the territories of the East India Company.

"1. It is hereby enacted and declared, that no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell, or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

"2. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or magistrate within the territories of the East India Company.

"3. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

"4. And it is hereby enacted, that any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery."

This Act, although defective on some points, will give liberty to millions whose bondage reckons its existence by centuries; millions will be born free, who otherwise would have followed the degraded condition of their parents; and millions more, born free, will be prevented from becoming slaves by sale and purchase, to perpetuate that system of cruelty and sin. Kidnapping by the wandering Brinjarrie and Megpunnah Thug will then find no scope for its diabolical arts and atrocious murders; whilst a host of other evils, as disgusting for their impurities as they are hateful for their impiety, will rapidly disappear. The Christian missionary can be brought into contact with the most miserable, debased, and helpless of our race; and the holy and benign religion which he teaches, win for itself new triumphs from among the heathen.

This great triumph of abolition principles cannot fail to strengthen the hands of our fellow-labourers in all parts of the world, and prove an additional incentive to increased and persevering exertions.

4. It usually happens that when men have had the moral courage to apply themselves to the solution of what may be deemed delicate and difficult questions, they have had less hesitation in giving them effect thenceforward; hence we find that in the orders respecting the future government of Scinde, the Governor-General has promulgated the following important regulation:—

"The Governor-General is pleased to direct, that all Acts of Parliament for the abolition of slavery, and for the suppression of the slave-trade, shall have full force and effect in every part of Scinde, which is now, or may hereafter be occupied by the British army."

It must not be supposed, that in speaking with approbation of this Act, we sanction the means by which that country has become a British possession; as that would be to connect the sacred cause of human freedom with devastation, rapine, and blood.

5. One of the great practical difficulties which the British Legislature has had to deal with, in its efforts to suppress the foreign slave-trade, has been to prevent all British subjects resident at home or abroad from participating therein. Availing themselves of what they believed to be defects in the letter of the law, or in the difficulties of proof, arising out of the covert and indirect way in which they have aided and abetted the iniquity, some British subjects, to their disgrace be it spoken, have vested large capitals in mines and plantations worked by slaves; and, by their agents, have become the buyers, and in some instances the sellers, of their fellow men. Others have undertaken to supply the miscreants more directly engaged in the traffic with the means, that is, with goods, for their unholy barter, and in a multitude of other ways to give vigour and activity to the trade. Strenuous efforts have been made by the abolitionists of this country to expose these guilty practices, and to bring some of the parties implicated therein before the tribunals of their country; but the difficulties they have had to encounter were said to be insurmountable under existing laws, and all that remained for them to do was urgently to petition the Legislature to adopt measures which would prevent the continuance of such criminal practices in future. In this matter Lord Brougham has taken a deep interest, and has laid before the House of Peers a bill which, if it pass into a law, will extend the provisions of the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act to all British subjects residing abroad,—which prohibits British subjects every where, and all persons within the dominion of the Crown, from dealing in

slaves in any manner of way, and which extends the description of slaves to pawns, and all persons held in any kind of constraint. The bill also provides for the trial of offenders, and for procuring the evidence necessary to conviction; and with a view to prevention, gives the Crown power to make Orders in Council for regulating the lawful African trade, so as to prevent slave-trading—to inhibit British companies engaging therein—and to empower British Consuls to examine and watch the proceedings of British trading companies abroad, and to take evidence touching the same.

The bill, it is understood, was drafted by Mr. Beldam, and appears to be well adapted to secure the object in view; though probably some of its provisions and exceptions may be amended or altered with advantage.

6. It might have been expected that the termination of the apprenticeship system in the British colonies on the 1st August, 1838, would have been followed by a spirit of conciliation on the part of the planters; and that, at all events, the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures would have been made to harmonize with the principles laid down in the great Act for the abolition of slavery passed in 1833. This, however, was not the case. Actuated either by fear, or by a determination to coerce labour and enforce obedience under the new state of things, laws of a most unjust, restrictive, and penal character were passed, and went into operation in most of the legislative colonies. To obtain their repeal or amendment was a duty of great importance, and much has been gained in this respect by the activity of the friends of freedom, both in this country and the colonies. Most of the obnoxious statutes have been repealed, and others have been so greatly modified as to have become innocuous for evil; nevertheless, there yet remains much to be done in this important department of labour. It is due both to the late and to the present Government to observe, that they have admitted the force of the objections urged against the bad portions of colonial legislation, and have interposed the veto of the Crown, when they have deemed it necessary to prevent the continued operation of bad laws. The disposition of the dominant party in the colonies, at the present moment, is to place an undue amount of taxation on the emancipated classes; but this is an evil which will no doubt be soon corrected, as it cannot be supposed that the mother country will allow high duties to be levied on imported goods, to restrict her market in the colonies. Indeed, the Government have already intimated to the Governor of Jamaica, that on no account whatever will they allow him in future to give his sanction to a tariff, so unjust to the poor as that which is now in operation, but which is to terminate on the 31st December next.

7. The treaties and conventions into which Great Britain has entered with foreign powers for the extinction of the African slave-trade, are important, as indicating the views entertained by different governments of that atrocious traffic. All the maritime powers of Europe, with the exception of Greece, Belgium, and Hanover, have negotiated treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, as have all the powers of America, with the exception of the United States, New Grenada, Ecuador, and Peru. There can be no doubt, however, that with the exception of the United States, all the other powers, both in Europe and America, will follow the example of neighbouring states. New Grenada and Ecuador are bound, in common with Venezuela, by the Columbian treaty with this country in 1825, and Peru is bound by the Peru-Bolivian treaty of 1837. Their having separated into different states is not held to vitiate the treaties they entered into when they were confederated together.

8. In compliance with the memorial of the last Convention, presented to Lord Palmerston, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on British functionaries holding or hiring slaves in foreign countries, his lordship caused a circular despatch to be forwarded to them, intimating it to be the wish of Her Majesty's Government that they should neither hold nor hire slaves for any purpose whatsoever. The effect of this intimation was most beneficial, and followed up, as it no doubt has been, by the present noble Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will operate as a standing testimony, on the part of Great Britain, against the system of slavery wherever it exists.

9. Nor has the application of this principle been confined to British functionaries. The concurrence of other powers has been sought to give it effect through the medium of their representatives residing in slave-holding countries. Among those who have given in their adhesion to the recommendation of Lord Palmerston, the Mexican Government deserves special mention; for it appears that they have not only instructed their agents abroad to refuse to hold or hire slaves, but to use their advocacy with the governments and countries in which they reside, with the same zeal in behalf of slaves as they would for their own countrymen, in as far as is compatible with the exercise of their functions.

Besides which, the influence of the British Government has been used in other directions in entire harmony with the suggestions of the last Convention. The Turkish and Persian Governments have been addressed, through the medium of the British ambassadors, who have been instructed to lose no opportunity of representing that it would be extremely acceptable to the Government and people of this country if decrees were issued prohibiting the further importation of slaves into their respective territories, and making it penal to purchase slaves. They are also instructed to follow this up with steady perseverance, never omitting to take advantage of favourable opportunities to press upon Mohammedan rulers the wishes of the British Government on these points.

An event of considerable importance, connected with the anti-slavery cause, took place in October, 1841. An American vessel,

the *Creole*, having on board a considerable number of slaves for the southern slave-markets of the United States, was brought into Nassau, New Providence, one of the Bahama islands, by nineteen of their number who rose upon the captain and crew, and, after having overcome them, took possession of the vessel, for the sole purpose of securing their liberty. The Committee felt it to be their duty to bring the subject under the attention of Government and of Parliament, having understood that demands would be made by the Federal Government of the United States for the delivery of those engaged in seizing the *Creole* as felons, and for compensation for the loss of the others. The proceedings in the House of Peers, consequent upon the affair, were of the highest interest and importance, and were decisive of the question that the slaves were fully justified in the steps they had taken; that they had committed no offence, either against British law or the law of nations; and that no claims of the United States, in reference to them, could be entertained for a single moment. Thus stood the question up to the period when the treaty of Washington was negotiated; then certain concessions appear to have been made by the British Envoy at variance with the understood principles of British and international law. But whatever hopes these concessions may have raised in the minds of the slave-holders, the Committee are persuaded they never will be realized; for, henceforth every slave touching British soil in the West Indies must be free, whatever may have been the circumstances under which he sought the protection of British laws.

Looking, therefore, at what has been done in this country since the last Convention was assembled in this place, viz., that the law for the suppression of the slave-trade is now in force in every part of the British Empire; that slavery has been abolished at the British settlements of Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley; that it is virtually terminated in British India; that it is no longer suffered to exist in Scinde; that the state of the colonial laws for the government of the emancipated classes is greatly improved; that foreign powers, with but few exceptions, have declared slave-trading to be a crime; that British functionaries residing in foreign states are not allowed to hold or hire slaves; that it is the determination of the Legislature, as far as it may be possible, to prevent British subjects from aiding and abetting the slave-trade in any part of the world; that the British Government are actively and peacefully engaged in using their influence with foreign states to aid in exterminating slavery and the slave-trade; and that the rights of slaves seeking refuge within our borders have been affirmed by the highest legal authorities in the realm; Looking at these things, there is every reason to take courage and persevere in the great and good work to which we are devoted.

#### GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Continued from page 96.)

#### TUESDAY EVENING.

At four o'clock the sitting was resumed, and Mr. GURNEY, the Chairman, having opened the proceedings by a few introductory remarks,

J. SCOBLE, Esq., read the "Report of the Progress of the Anti-Slavery cause since the last Convention." In reviewing that progress, he observed, there was much reason for congratulation on the advance which had been made. Nothing more than a bare outline of the facts connected with that progress had been attempted.

The Report, which will be found in another part of our columns, having been concluded,

Mr. SCOBLE remarked, that since he had entered the room a copy of the *Ceylon Observer* had been put into his hands, and he was enabled on that authority to announce that slavery had been abolished in that beautiful island. In Ceylon, there had existed a system of slavery almost as atrocious as that which formerly existed in our West Indian colonies. In the year 1837 there were 37,000 slaves; but now, he trusted the system had been completely destroyed. (Cheers.)

J. T. PRICE, Esq., of Neath Abbey, moved the first resolution:—"That this meeting, in receiving the report of the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the last Convention, is called to unite in devout thanksgiving to God for all the happy and beneficial results which have now been announced, and for the sound wisdom and discretion, and persevering self-denying zeal with which He has enabled the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to prosecute the work and objects assigned to them by that Convention." He (Mr. Price) had received a delightful treat. The report exceeded his most sanguine anticipations; he did not expect that there was so much glorious news to be communicated. More had been done than he could have believed, and he, as well as all present, must feel thankful to Divine Providence for the blessings which had crowned the measures which had been adopted for the furtherance of this great cause—a cause which was founded on that Rock which has been beautifully designated "the Rock of ages."

Rev. HIRAM KELLOG, of Illinois, U.S., seconded the resolution. He said, that though from one of the Western States of the American Union, he was familiar with the proceedings of the Committee, and the abolitionists of this country. That Granville Sharpe and Thomas Clarkson were the men whose example warmed and animated them at home; and though fully convinced of the persevering determination of the Committee, he had often thought that with such men for their fathers it was impossible for them to be recreant to the principles, to the diffusion and establishment of which these noble men had devoted their lives.

JAMES STANDFIELD, Esq., of Belfast; the Rev. JAMES PEGGS, of Ilkeston, late of Orissa, who read several extracts, showing the dreadful character of slavery in British India, which he hoped would now be happily abolished; JOSEPH SAMS, Esq., of Darlington, and several other delegates, spoke in support of the resolution.

Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT desired to express his entire accordance with

the resolution. As a sentinel on the walls in this warfare, he had entire confidence in the London committee. Whenever the inquiry was made of him with respect to any part of our great work, "Watchman, what of the night?" he was always prepared to say, that whatever depends on the sleepless vigilance, incorruptible fidelity, unflinching firmness, and judicious discrimination of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, "All's well." He, however, wished to call the attention of the Convention more fully to the case of the *Creole*. In America, they were compelled to carry on the conflict against slavery before the courts of law; and, as was the case with Granville Sharpe in the management of the Somerset case, they were constantly driven back to the first principles, the primary foundations of law. And it is of the very last importance that the precedents of British courts, and the positions taken by the British Government, should be kept absolutely on the line of strict law. Providence has placed them in the front rank, and any wavering in the front rank cannot but dishearten the whole host. As he understood the principle of general law, it was this—that the law of slavery is confined in its force to the territorial jurisdiction of the state which establishes it; so that the slave, as soon as by any means he gets beyond this limit, is to be regarded precisely as any other man. The slaveholders, on the other hand, feel under the necessity of maintaining, that, once a slave, always a slave, and that a man who has been made a slave in one country is to be regarded as a slave, and the property of his master, in every other country. This is the issue on which slavery lives or dies. In the case of the *Comet* and *Encomium*, wrecked on the British islands, the slaves were regarded by the British authorities as passengers, and free to go wherever they pleased; and were not compelled to cross the ocean, in order to their being restored to bondage. So far so good. The Government of the United States, under the influence of the slave power, demanded compensation for the slaves who had thus been lost to their owners. This was a question in which the slaveholders were far more interested than about the boundary question, not for the value of the slaves in the case in point, but for the sake of the principle which the giving compensation for them would concede—that of the recognition of their right of property in man beyond their own territory. After some negotiation, he regretted to say the British Government had made compensation, and by that conceded the whole principle; and had weakened the hands of those who were compelled to bear the brunt of the battle against the slaveholders. This was indeed a great blunder, but he hoped they would yet redeem it. (Hear, hear.) In the case of the *Creole*, certain slaves, on the voyage from Virginia to New Orleans, rose and compelled the captain to navigate the vessel into the British port of Nassau, where the negroes went on shore as freemen, leaving the vessel in the hands of the captain. He was in Washington when the news was received, and the excitement was tremendous. The slaveholders felt that their idolized "institution" had received a deadly blow. The subject was immediately brought before the senate—not before the other house, because there sits John Quincy Adams, and they are afraid of him. In the senate, they brought it forward five several times, without one northern senator daring to meet them. They insisted that Great Britain should make compensation for the slaves, or that there should be war. A senator of Louisiana said in his place, that unless these practices of the colonial authorities were put a stop to, they would visit those islands with fire and sword. Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, instructed the American ambassador at London to assert to the British Government, that the property in slaves is guaranteed by the Government of the United States; and that this maintenance of British law in British ports is dangerous to the peace of the two countries. He also declared that there had been an unauthorized interference of the local authorities to take the slaves out of the power of their owners; whereas the notarial protest of the latter, sworn to at New Orleans, declares that they lost the power over the vessel while on the high seas, and never recovered it until it was restored to them by the local authorities at Nassau. Mr. Webster afterwards wrote to Lord Ashburton, begging that if no provision could be admitted into the treaty of Washington, instructions should be given to the governors of the islands to respect the rights of the slaveholders, as a matter of international amity. Lord Ashburton replied, declaring that Mr. Webster and himself had no difference in point of principle, and pledging that instructions should be given to the local authorities not to interfere in such causes. Now (said Mr. L.) the question to which I wish the attention of the British people is this,—Whether, according to British law, it is the duty of the local authorities, when they know that slaves are held in duresse within their jurisdiction, to refuse to interfere, and to allow men to be carried out of their ports, and out of their jurisdiction, into slavery in a foreign country. To him it seemed to be a surrender of the whole principle, and a virtual admission of the claim of the slaveholders, that the law of Virginia, by which a man is made a slave within the territorial jurisdiction of Virginia, is law in Nassau, so as to forbid the exercise of their functions by the local authorities. He therefore hoped a committee would be appointed to examine this case, and see whether any thing can be done to recover the ground thus unhappily lost. If possible, let us obtain the best legal authority in this land, to show in America what is the true principle of British law, or, rather, of the general law of the civilized world, on this important subject.

After some remarks from several delegates, the resolution was agreed to.

The next subject marked in the programme of the business to be brought before the Convention being "the question of slavery in America,"

The Rev. Mr. LEAVITT, of Boston, U.S., opened it, by commencing the reading of a report and statements, founded on statistical and other documents, showing the extent of slavery in America; the comparative mortality of the free coloured and slave population; calculations on the probable amount of the internal slave-trade, &c.; but on account of the advanced hour in the evening, it was agreed to defer any discussion thereon till the morning sitting.

The Convention then adjourned until Wednesday morning.

#### WEDNESDAY MORNING.

RICHARD PEEK, Esq., in the chair.

After the usual period of devotional silence, the minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

The Rev. J. CLARK, from Jamaica, introduced to the Convention

several missionaries about to proceed to the coast of Africa. They were, he said, to sail that day for Gravesend, and would on the morrow leave the river for Africa. In the mission were natives of Jamaica, who had rendered many services to the inhabitants of that island, and who had now devoted themselves to the service of God for the benefit of the benighted people of Africa. One of the persons composing the mission was Dr. Prince, with whom he went to Africa in 1840. They remained there fourteen months, visited various parts of the continent, and had many opportunities of observing the condition of the natives along the Grain, Ivory, and Gold Coasts. They were about thirteen months at Fernando Po, visited about one-half of the aborigines of that island, and had very much encouragement given to them. (Cheers.) Those immediately going out to Western Africa were, Dr. Prince, his wife and daughter, the Rev. Mr. Merrick and wife, and the Rev. Alexander Fuller (of African descent), formerly a slave in Jamaica. He (the Rev. Mr. Clark) was about to proceed to Jamaica for the purpose of obtaining a supply of natives with whom to proceed to Africa. They were to have the assistance of a small steam-boat for the purpose of visiting, from Fernando Po, the large number of rivers within 300 or 400 miles of the island, and by its means they expected to communicate with tens of thousands of those who had never heard the important truths of Christianity. They believed that by the instruction that would be imparted from time to time to the inhabitants of Africa, by the mission now about to depart, an effectual preventive would be worked against the iniquitous traffic which had been carried on, more he thought in the Bights of Biafra and Benin than in any other parts of Africa.

The Rev. Mr. MERRICK (another of the African mission) felt that they were going to the land of slavery with the sympathies and prayers of the Convention, and they (the mission) would ever pray that the period might soon come when all the sons of Adam should be free, when man should no longer hold his fellow-man as his property, but when each should look the other in the face and behold a brother free. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. FULLER (of African descent, and another of the mission) said he had been a slave in Jamaica, and owed his freedom to the benevolence of the abolitionists, and, what was more, he had derived from them the knowledge of the gospel of Christ. He therefore felt it a duty, as well as a pleasure, to do all in his power for those of his brethren in Africa who had never known Christ, and were labouring under great oppression and cruelty. He had given himself up to this work, and he fervently trusted that his humble services might be useful to his poor fellow-countrymen, who were perishing for lack of knowledge. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. SCALES said the missionaries had such strong claims on their sympathies and prayers, that he felt they could not let them depart without the assurance that the members of the Convention would hold them in affectionate and prayerful remembrance.

The suggestion was put to the Convention, who formally pledged themselves to keep the mission in such recollection.

The majority of the members then shook hands with the missionaries, who left the hall to depart for Gravesend.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE suggested the appointment of a committee to draw up an address of affectionate love and sympathy, in answer to the address of Mr. Clarkson, read on the previous day.

The Rev. J. CARLILE then moved the following resolution:—"That a committee be appointed to prepare an address to Thomas Clarkson and William Allen, assuring those venerable, honoured, and distinguished philanthropists of the sympathy and strong affection of the Convention, and of their unfeigned regret that the state of their health had deprived the meeting of the anticipated pleasure of seeing them in the chair."

Mr. G. STACEY seconded the resolution, which was passed with acclamation.

The Rev. J. WOODWARD moved, and Capt. C. STEWART seconded, a motion to the following effect:—"That a sub-committee, consisting of the following delegates, be appointed to consider the important questions involved in the case of the *Creole*, and that of the fugitive slaves, from the United States to Canada or elsewhere, and that they be required to report as early as possible to the Convention:—Rev. J. Leavitt, A. Buffum, G. W. Anstie, Rev. H. H. Kellogg, J. Scoble, and W. Morgan."

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. JOSIAH CONDER said he did not wish to check the sanguine expectations raised by yesterday's proceedings as to the extinction of slavery in India. He had, however, received papers from India, and according to them he feared that the measures for securing such extinction were not sufficiently efficient to accomplish the object. (Hear.) He only mentioned the fact to show the necessity of not relaxing in vigilance to accomplish completely the great object promised in India; also the importance of seeing that the good wishes of the Government in India, and of the ministers at home in this respect, should not be defeated by any defective legislation.

The Rev. J. PENNINGTON (a person of such colour as may be termed what is usually called a black), of Connecticut, then made a long and interesting communication illustrative of the condition of the free persons of colour in the United States. He said, according to the last census, that of 1840, there were 386,235 free persons of colour, of both sexes, spread over thirty states and territories of America, in various portions and under different circumstances. It might be asked, were those free persons of colour civilized? If by civilization were meant the adoption of such conduct and avocations as characterised the whites, they were civilised; indeed, they had been charged, he thought somewhat unkindly, with imitating and "aping" the manners of the whites. (Hear.) They were now proceeding with all possible efforts to acquire civil and religious liberty throughout the States, and for all colours. (Hear.) Revolution on the question was in progress—not by violent means, but by moral and religious exertions. (Cheers.) The coloured man was ill-treated in America. Prejudice and the law were extensively against him; and they tend to produce a moral depreciation of the white man's estimate of the coloured man. He would notice a "Jim Crow" definition—

"——— Do what you will,  
The nigger will be a nigger still."

It was also said, "Take a nigger, cut off his head, oil him, broil him, throw him into an oven, he will be a nigger still." (Hear.) Those were Americanisms. (Loud cries of "Hear.") Now, were not such descriptions

alone sufficient to show the influence and tendency of American slavery? (Cheers.) The question, in fact, was whether the man of colour was capable of complete mental elevation? If they should be of opinion that the coloured man was not capable of complete elevation of character, then he might as well close his address, and go home—he had no business there. He, however, was humbly of opinion, from extensive experience and reflection, that the coloured man was capable of complete elevation of character. (Hear, hear.) He then described the condition and conduct of free persons of colour in various cities through the Union, viz., in Washington, Boston, Massachusetts, Cincinnati, &c., showing that they had chapels, schools, libraries, "libraries for females," &c.; proving that in the free states their conduct, in all honourable respects, and desire for mental, moral, and religious improvement, was quite equal to that of the white population. The illustrations of this point were very full, interesting, and conclusive. Most of them, he added, were Methodists, of the Bethel or Sion denominations. These congregations were often exclusively coloured. Those who were Independents, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians, were in connexion with the whites. He had but one objection to them. There were separate pews for the blacks; and there was no intercourse by them with coloured ministers.

Mr. BLANCHARD, from Cincinnati, Ohio, observed that there were now exceptions to this rule as regarded those classes of religionists; and that those exceptions were constantly increasing. (Hear.)

The Rev. Mr. PENNINGTON resumed. He observed that still, however, the public law was defective, and would so continue until the distinction ceased which secured constitutional privileges to "white" citizens. The word white must be withdrawn, and the privileges extended to "citizens," without reference to colour. (Hear.) He had, however, to report some progress. The small state of Rhode Island had corrected this injustice. In its new constitution rights were extended to all free citizens, without regard to colour. (Cheers.) The judicial powers, however, were unsoundly exercised. In the smaller courts there was still danger where contending parties were coloured and white; but in the higher courts he was happy to be able to declare that impartial justice was more frequently observed. (Cheers.) Thus the judges of Pennsylvania had awarded the full worth of the church and improvement, belonging to the coloured people, which had been destroyed by white mobs. (Hear.) The legislation in free states, he was happy to say, was improving: laws obnoxious to the free coloured race were being repealed, or attempted to be repealed; and laws to secure equality were being proposed or passed. He had already said that the coloured people were constantly engaged in efforts to improve their condition. They were also deeply interested in all that is being done for them. Here he read a letter expressive of the sentiments of the people of Troy, N.Y., in regard to the world's Convention. This letter (continued Mr. Pennington) expressed the views of the whole people on the subject of abolition. He had no record by him showing their views on colonization, but their publicly expressed opinion was their record, and that opinion was firm and united, totally and unchangeably, against the system: they believed it to be the handmaid of slavery. He would now conclude by an earnest appeal to the Convention. Men and brethren, help. Do you ask how you are to help us? You can help us through the channel of emigration. The world is pouring in its population upon the shores of America. Your emigrants, in many instances, become slaveholders and man-haters. When your friends come to settle among us, use your influence to have them bring right principles with them. Americans visit your countries. When they come, question them on the subject of slavery. Ask them how they feel towards the coloured people. Tell them how they stand before the world, and ask them what they are doing to abolish slavery? You visit America. When you go, do not forget that there is a certain man there who has fallen among thieves and robbers! Go as good Samaritans. Make inquiries regarding the condition of the coloured population, and drop a kind word for them; it will have its effect and due weight on the American mind. That was due to them. The world owed the coloured race a debt of justice. (Loud cheers.) Where was the nation that had not wronged the African race? He and his brethren felt warranted in declaring that the world owed them a debt of justice; and he asked for justice—only simple justice. (Loud cheers.) If you extend to us your sympathy, and aid us in endeavouring to procure justice, we live; deprive us of your sympathy, we pine and die. (Hear, hear.) Slavery in America was said to be a domestic question. He denied that assertion. It was no domestic question; it was a question for all mankind. (Cheers.) No nation was privileged to oppress humanity, and those who, by their conduct and laws, did so oppress humanity, ought to be appealed against before the whole world. As America had dared to make laws inconsistent with the rights of humanity, to abuse and degrade humanity, he felt warranted in appealing, and he did appeal, to the world for justice against such laws and wrongs to humanity. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) As the literature of the coloured race had been spoken of sometimes, he begged to present two books, written by himself; the titles were as follows:—"Covenants involving moral wrong are not obligatory upon man: a Sermon delivered in the fifth Congregational Church, Hartford, on Thanksgiving-day, Nov. 17, 1842;" and "A Text-book of the Origin and History, &c., of the Coloured People."

Mr. Wm. JOHNSON, chairman of the Committee of Vigilance of New York, observed that the coloured race were defective, imperfect, degraded, without adequate and good conduct; but, he asked, how could they be otherwise, when they were, with few exceptions, excluded from the public schools and colleges, as also from professions, from juries, &c. (Hear, hear.) The whole system of partial laws, and powerful prejudices, prevented the improvement and advancement of the coloured race! All these things were singularly conspicuous in New York. No white man there dared to be seen speaking to or walking with a black man. (Hear, hear.) A black man dared not to be seen even sweeping the streets of New York. (Hear, hear, hear.) He concluded with moving the following resolution:—

"That the important communications laid before this Convention, on the condition and prospects of the free people of colour in the United States, be referred, with all other documents on the same subject, to a committee, consisting of the following delegates, to report to the Convention as to the best means of making use thereof:—Rev. J. W. Wayne, W. Forster, J. Clarke, jun., Rev. J. Pennington, and J. Allen."

Sir G. STRICKLAND, M.P., said he had great pleasure in complying with the request to second the resolution just proposed. He had hitherto, and should while life lasted, do his utmost to sweep from the face of the world the horrid stain of slavery. (Cheers.) He had been much gratified by the speech that he had heard from the Rev. Mr. Pennington; its ability showed how truly the coloured race were their fellow men and brothers. That individual had proved that there was capability in the coloured race. (Cheers.) All he had heard to-day only confirmed what he had before heard regarding the condition of the coloured population in America. But they ought not to blame pastors, or even the Government of America; the evils which they deplored were attributable to slavery only, wholly and exclusively. (Hear.) So long as the stain of slavery was allowed to remain in any part of the world, he declared it was impossible to expect to remove any of the abominations attendant upon slavery; while slavery continued anywhere, so long would the abominations which they deplored last. Therefore, they must continue, without any relaxation or qualification, to seek for the entire extinction of slavery in every part of the world. (Hear.)

The Rev. J. BLANCHARD, of America, also strongly supported the resolution, from his personal knowledge of the evils resulting from slavery in America.

The Rev. JAMES SHERMAN (minister of Surrey Chapel) here introduced to the meeting Oceola, a young Seminole Indian, a prince, son of the king of the Red Hills, among the Seminoles, who had been treacherously attacked and almost destroyed in Florida. This youth had been saved and protected by Dr. Andrew Welch. [The youth was on the platform, dressed as an American Indian, and appeared a fine intelligent-looking boy, of a light copper colour.] By a series of providences this youth had come under his care; and he had only that morning learned that there was reason to believe that his father still lived. (Hear.) The Indians of which the father of this youth was the head, had been hunted down by bloodhounds, under the sanction of the American Government. He then introduced the young prince's protector to the meeting.

Dr. ANDREW WELCH then feelingly and effectively addressed the meeting, declaring that this was indeed the proudest moment of his life, in having the opportunity of seeing this youth introduced to that Convention. (Hear, hear.) This youth had come under his protection in Florida, the child having been found, it being supposed that all who had been attacked were destroyed. After being with himself and family three years, and educated by them, he came to be considered as part of their family. Their neighbours, observing how he was educating the youth, feared the consequences, and expressed their disapprobation and fears, representing that it would enable the youth to become powerful among the Indians, and consequently dangerous. They insisted that the education should not be continued. Fearing the consequences, he resolved that he would forthwith remove with this youth, in order to preserve him, to England. (Cheers.) Influenced alone by this desire to preserve this youth, he had returned to this country; and he felt well rewarded for what he had done by the conduct and promise of the youth. (Cheers.) He (Dr. Welch,) however, for the sake of his health felt it requisite to return to America. But in order to take due care of and provide for the cultivation of this youth, he had consigned him to the care of the Rev. Mr. Sherman and the education of the Mill-hill school. (Cheers.) The youth, he believed, was now about thirteen years of age; he had had him with him upwards of six years, and when he came to him he was then presumed to be between six and seven years of age. In his presence—and the Rev. Mr. SHERMAN made a similar remark—he could not say all regarding the youth's conduct that the truth would warrant, but the highest encomiums were pronounced on him in the Mill-hill school.

The Rev. Mr. LEAVITT said this scene, as an American, had affected him very much. He loved his country, but he did not love her crimes. Knowing much about the Seminole war, and hearing of this youth being within a few miles of London, he saw him, and could not rest content without having him introduced to that Convention, for his history and wrongs had much to do with the objects of that Convention. The war of extermination against the Seminole Indians carried on in Florida under the sanction of the American Government, and pursued by means of hunting those Indians with bloodhounds, was for the purpose, and no other, of upholding slavery. (Hear, hear, and shame, shame.) Runaway slaves occasionally secreted themselves among the swamps of Florida; and, to deprive them of such refuge, this exterminating war was determined upon, in obedience to the demands of the slaveholders. (Hear, hear, and shame.) He, therefore, declared that war to have been undertaken to uphold slavery, and for no other motive, and hence this youth, whose parents had been treacherously treated, was intimately identified with the objects which that Convention were pursuing. (Hear, hear.) But though the war was a war of extermination, and though it was carried on against only some few hundreds of Seminole (and aboriginal) Indians; though it had been prosecuted for years, the American forces and power there had not yet triumphed. He (Mr. L.) was no renegade, abusing his country, when absent from her shores; what he had now in substance declared, had been uttered in Congress by Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, who was, what they termed, their Chairman of the Committee of Claims, similar to what was here the Exchequer Court. Mr. Giddings—and he heard the speech himself—made the narration and observations, in applying to Congress for redress, on behalf of the Seminole Indians in Florida, and of the father of the youth now on their platform, who was supposed to be still living, and a suitor to Congress for reparation for wrongs done. Mr. L. read extracts from Mr. Giddings' speech, which he had brought with him from America, among various other documents, little imagining, as he observed, that he should have such cause and occasion for referring to it, and in the presence, too, of the young prince now before them, the singularly preserved son of so deeply an injured a party. He had to present to the Convention a work prepared by Dr. Andrew Welch respecting this youth, and all the extraordinary circumstances connected with him and his preservation; and he might say, that the lovers of romance, as well as the admirers of extraordinary history would be equally surprised and gratified with the perusal of this truly singular book. The title of the book was—and it would give some idea of its curious contents:—"A Narrative of the early Days and Remembrances of Oceola Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti, a young Seminole Indian; son of Econchatti-Mico, King of the

Red Hills in Florida; with a brief History of his Nation, and his renowned Uncle, Oceola, and his Parents; with Accounts illustrative of Indian Life in Florida." This curious work was published by Hatchard. He had peculiar happiness in presenting a copy to the Convention. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. STANDFIELD thought that so extraordinary and honourable had been the conduct of Dr. A. Welch, that they ought to interrupt the regular proceedings—for there was a resolution before the meeting—to give and record their thanks to Dr. A. Welch, for the whole of his proceeding in this most memorable and praiseworthy transaction.

After some warm testimonials to the chivalric character of his philanthropy, in the course of which the Rev. Mr. Blanchard, of America, and Mr. Dunlop, of Edinburgh, very effectively addressed the Convention, the motion was carried, it may be said, by acclamation.

The resolution previously before the Society was then again brought before the Convention.

The Rev. C. HOWELLS said that it was well known he was an American, and, as such, he hoped he might be allowed to make two or three observations to that meeting. And, first, he would say that they in America wanted delegates from England, men who, though of no repute among men, stood fair in reputation before their God. Many had been sent out professing high moral principle and dauntless courage, but when brought before the enemy those professions had been falsified, and that courage had greatly evaporated. But some men had indeed been sent out whose services were of great and paramount importance; he would name George Thompson, the unflinching advocate of the oppressed and the injured; but was there another? (Cries of "Joseph Sturge.") Yes, Joseph Sturge. He would not add his friend Mr. Hewitt, for he was half an American. The speaker adverted to what he considered the inconsistencies of those in this country who sought the abolition of slavery abroad, while they appeared regardless of iniquities committed at home; and was proceeding to dwell upon the conduct pursued by the British Government towards the Caffres, the Chinese, and the Affghans, when

A MEMBER rose to order. He objected to any political question not immediately affecting that before the meeting being introduced.

The CHAIRMAN trusted that no gentleman would introduce any matter foreign to the question before them.

Mr. HOWELLS said he would rather be fighting the battles of emancipation in America than stand where he did that moment. But he would only detain the meeting a few minutes longer, for he wished to say one word with regard to prejudice. He wanted to show the kind of prejudice which existed, not among the ignorant alone, but among the educated also. In a conversation he had had about the beginning of the emancipation agitation with an eminent Presbyterian minister, that clerical gentleman vowed that he would send all the poor people of colour out of America; and, rather than allow them to remain, he would re-enslave them again. (Cries of "Oh, oh.") He lamented that many professing Christians still justified the monstrous system of slavery.

The Rev. G. SMITH, of Poplar, energetically and eloquently supported the resolution, declaring it to be the duty of all to resist the tyranny of castes and partial laws; and that this vestige of barbarity, slavery, ought to be removed from the face of the earth. However, we ought to be slow to vituperate, for were our hands clean as regarded slavery?

The Rev. THOMAS SPENCER, of Hinton, near Bath, also gave his most earnest support. He spoke because he considered himself as constituting part of the Court then and there assembled, and to which the Rev. Mr. Pennington had appealed for justice; and he begged that gentleman to hear that he pronounced the verdict of "Guilty" against every enslaver of man. (Cheers.) He considered that Mr. Pennington had so acquitted himself, that he was justly entitled to be contemplated as "man and brother," and that he had established a similar right for the whole of the coloured race. (Cheers.) When Mr. Pennington returned to America he wished him to bear this message, that America must be ashamed of England, if those in America were ashamed of Mr. Pennington; that he was worthy of any society, station, or company; that he was fit to sit in any carriage with any company; that ladies had not refused to sit in that Hall with him and his friends of colour; that he (Mr. Spencer), as a clergyman of the Church of England, had sat with him; and that Mr. Pennington was not only fit company for any clergyman, but for any of the bishops. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried, and the Convention adjourned till ten o'clock Thursday morning, the sitting having continued from ten till half-past three o'clock.

#### THURSDAY MORNING.

RICHARD PEEK, Esq., in the chair.

After the usual period of devotional silence, the minutes of the preceding day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

Mr. SCOBLE read a letter from Sir T. F. Buxton, respecting his absence on account of indisposition. In the course of it, he said—"I remember that it was thought, and said, too, in former times, that I entertained the most extravagant and wild delusion about the character of the negroes; but I now willingly confess, that I did not do them one-half of the justice which they merited. How thankful ought we to be for the mercy which God has thus shown to the negroes and to ourselves!"

Mr. W. JOHNSON (of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society) then addressed the meeting on the subject of the fugitive slaves of the United States who had escaped into Canada. He contended that such was the unholy system, that men were justified in endeavouring to escape from slavery to liberty. As the eloquent Channing had said, "Who would not fly from bondage?" (Hear, hear.) Not only individuals, but whole families would fly from the bondage of the southern states; and in the efforts to secure liberty they underwent the most extraordinary privations, sometimes secreting themselves for months, and even years, in caves, woods, &c., till opportunities for complete escape presented themselves. Such being the mode of secreting themselves, it was no unusual occurrence for slaveowners to go out in hunting parties in pursuit of fugitive slaves, as in this country parties went out to hunt the hare or the fox. (Hear, hear.) Many would wonder how the fugitive slaves found their way, as they were compelled to avoid all public roads and places; but all guided themselves by the northern star. Or, if they proceeded by day, they observed on which side of the trees the moss

grew, as the moss invariably grew on the north sides of the trees. Whether they had been favourably treated, even pampered, so to speak, or roughly, they equally sought their liberty, avowing that such was their object. He mentioned that he had passed on towards Canada 1,675 fugitive slaves in the course of 5½ years. It was calculated that 5,000 slaves annually attempted to escape, of whom about one-third succeeded. Mr. Johnson then proceeded to state some of the most remarkable cases which came to his knowledge from his connexion with the Committee of Vigilance at New York. Amongst others he mentioned the case of a fugitive and his brother, who escaped from John Terry, in Covington, Louisiana. They fell in with some of the United States troops in Florida, and the officers in command had the base cruelty to surrender them for the paltry reward of 400 dollars. On being brought back to their master they were placed in tobacco hogsheads, filled with wrought nails driven in from the outside, and the head fastened down, and they were then rolled round the slave quarters; on every turn the nails were driven into their flesh, till they were literally bleeding at every pore. When taken out they were rubbed down with brine and pepper, and then washed with rum. They afterwards succeeded in effecting their escape, and one of them is now in Canada, the other died at Pennsylvania, worn out by the sufferings he had endured. These men had travelled upwards of 3,000 miles on foot in search of liberty. Mr. Johnson related also the case of a slave, who had by the connivance of the steward of one of the steam-boats from New Orleans to New York, effected his escape, being concealed in a locker in the cabin. The vessel was searched by the officers, who had information of the man's being on board, previous to leaving New Orleans; and immediately after her arrival in New York, the master's agent instituted another search; but in both cases the locker, on which the steward sat cleaning some things, escaped their attention. (Hear, hear.) Among other slaves for whom he had provided were two of the sons of a former Vice-President of the United States, (Col. Johnson.) (Hear, hear.) One he had sent on a whaling expedition, the other he had forwarded to Toronto. When he found his sons had escaped, he offered their manumission if the abolitionists would deliver them up to him; but upon some conditions being proposed he rejected them. (Cries of shame.) He remarked that such were some few of the horrors of slavery. It not only degraded and continued the degradation of the coloured race, but it had the most deteriorating effects on the minds of the whites. They often took the money of the blacks, and they made defective transfers, so that they were liable to recapture, and were often taken back into slavery; and in other cases they would resell the persons whose money they had taken for freedom. (Hear, hear.) But these were only a few specimens of the horribly deteriorating effects on the minds of the whites; they were, however, all experience showed, inseparable from slavery. (Hear, hear.) In answer to an inquiry from the Rev. J. A. James, he said that the Vigilance Society of New York did not now experience obstructions from the authorities there; but heretofore it was very different: it had been until lately very difficult to obtain justice. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE read the following extract of a letter from Hamilton Hill, Esq., of the Oberlin Institute, Ohio, dated 18th May, 1843, to the Rev. Hiram Wilson, a member of this Convention: "We have been very full of fugitives lately, and there is a pretty sharp hue and cry for some not a hundred miles from Tappan Hall now. Two days since I called upon an acquaintance, and found a black man with a white woman, the latter slave, but the man free, and three children. The woman is as white as my wife or yours. A warrant has been issued by the governor of Kentucky for this man for stealing his wife, and it is supposed that the governor of this state has done the same. I trust, however, that, long ere you receive this, they, with six or eight others, will be over the lake, though the friends are rather puzzled how to effect it in this case."

Mr. STURGE mentioned that many of the recaptured slaves were placed in gaols in the neighbourhood of the House of Representatives of the United States itself—(hear, hear)—he (Mr. Sturge) had visited those gaols within half an hour after talking to Henry Clay in the hall of the House of Representatives, and might there have bought as many slaves as he pleased for a few hundred dollars each. (Hear, hear.) These were melancholy facts, that ought to be known throughout the world. (Cheers.)

The Rev. T. SWAN, of Birmingham, expressed astonishment at a sentiment uttered on Wednesday by Sir G. Strickland, that slavery was not chargeable upon pastors or governments, but upon the system of slavery—upon some nonentity. (Hear, hear.) All dealers in slaves, all holders of slaves, were culpable; and that meeting ought not only to avow that fact, but to disavow the conduct of even some of the Society of Friends in New York, who discountenanced those who were abolitionists. (Hear hear.)

Dr. BOWRING expressed his gratification at the progress of their cause—of the constantly increasing liberality of English legislation—and the hope that, as America boasted of speaking our language, the language in which Shakespeare and Milton wrote, they would also deem it consistent with justice, truth, and religion, and would also copy us in exterminating slavery, even if it were requisite to sacrifice some millions sterling in the accomplishment of such an object. (Cheers.)

The Rev. AMOS PHELPS, of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, submitted some very impressive details on the influence of slavery upon the religion and education of the slave and the free population, powerfully showing the degrading and deteriorating effects, in every possible point of view, of slavery. There was four times as much education in the free states, as existed in the slave states, even among the whites. Education to the blacks was in general refused. (Hear, hear.) He also spoke of the conduct of literary institutions in reference to the admission of coloured people. In some states they were much improved. There were colleges or institutions in Maine now open to the free coloured population. (Hear, hear.) And the same was the case in Massachusetts, &c. It was right to state, that there were six or eight Catholic colleges or institutions that also received students from the free coloured population. As a descendant of the Puritans, he did not hold much in common with Catholicism, but he deemed it only just to state the fact, as encouraging to Protestants. Though, however, so much had been done, let it not be supposed that nothing more remained to be effected in this particular; much remained to be accom-

plished, and he had only instanced those results to prove that their exertions for the free coloured population in this respect had not been altogether without happy effects. (Hear, hear.) Speaking of the Episcopalians and Baptists, he said that there were many secessions from the churches that were not for abolition constantly taking place; while other institutions and churches were declaring their non-fellowship with slave owners. (Hear, hear.) They proceeded avowedly on the inalienable rights of every human being, declaring that slavery was inconsistent with justice, right, and Christianity. (Cheers.) There were from 4,000 to 6,000 churches that had now made their stand against slavery, by a resolution of non-fellowship; a fact, he mentioned, as proof of progress, not as testimony that they had by any means completed their labours. (Cheers.) He also gave some very impressive details of the prejudice regarding colour—though that, also, was receding, as was proved by the reception that Convention and others had given to the Rev. Mr. Pennington. It was not prejudice against colour, for men wore black coats and hats. No, it was prejudice against condition. It was hate against colour only as it was the badge of a degraded and despised class. He hoped his English hearers would understand now why the prejudice of colour operated so deeply in America. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE introduced to the Convention, Mr. Lewis Tappan, of New York, who had so early and boldly made a stand against slavery. At one time, the New Orleans papers offered a reward of 50,000 dollars to any one who would deliver there, dead or alive, Lewis Tappan. (Hear, hear.) They did not mention, however, who undertook to pay the money. (Laughter.) Mr. Tappan had received numerous insults, by letters and otherwise. One letter contained the ear of a negro. Need he say more? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN also made an interesting speech on the condition of the coloured population in the United States. With reference to the distinction made in places of worship in the United States between the white and coloured population, he observed that if he were to take brother Pennington (the minister of African descent, who addressed the Convention on the preceding day) into any of the churches of America, it would throw the congregation into a holy horror. (Hear, hear, laughter, and cries of shame.)

Mr. J. C. FULLER, general agent for fugitive slaves at North America, said he could not subscribe to the doctrine that the colleges in America, as stated by his friend Amos Phelps, were truly open to the coloured population. They might get within the doors, but, in the language of Brother Pennington, they remained "niggers" still. With respect to the American church, he did not wish to speak harshly of it; he should describe it in a few words. It was "a cage of unclean birds." (Hear, hear.) The people of Philadelphia, who were held up to the admiration of the friends of abolition, gave the right hand of fellowship to adulterers, robbers, and the perpetrators of every crime under the sun. (Hear, hear.) The first thing that caught the eye of the Presbyterian who went to the General Assembly was the moderator of the old school, a slave-holder. He wanted the people here to be undeceived. (Hear, hear.) The church in America was the bulwark of slavery. (Hear.) He would ask whether there had not been for some years past a slave moderator in the old school General Assembly? (Hear, hear.) He had seen a slave-holder in the chair himself. (Hear, hear.) He came then to the Baptist church. Who had the Baptist church in the chair as moderator? (Hear.) Was he not a slave-holder? (Hear, hear.) That church in America took in as members more than four millions of people. And what was the spirit that presided over the Wesleyan conference? (Hear, hear.) Was it anti-slavery or pro-slavery? (Hear, hear.) They numbered 3,500,000 in America; and what had that conference done? The Convention knew that the door of entrance into the Methodist church was a desire to "flee from the wrath to come." Suppose a coloured man presented himself, expressed that such was his desire, and was admitted, and that man's wife should be ravished by the white man, what did the Methodist church say, if in a slave state? Why that the man's evidence was not to be received, (cries of "shame.") Talk to him that their churches were pure, or anything approximating to purity! They might, to use a homely phrase, as well tell him that the moon was made of green cheese. (Hear, and laughter.) The question of slavery had just come under the notice of the assembly of the old school of Philadelphia, and they had given it the "go-by." He thought the remark of his friend Lewis Tappan showed the state of public feeling on the question of slavery. Take a coloured man into a meeting-house, and see what a commotion would be produced; and this was applicable not only to New York, but to every other part of the country. He had seen a woman Friend, in the character of an elder in the state of Virginia, leave her seat in the minister's gallery, go into the side gallery and turn out a dozen coloured women, that three white women might be accommodated. (Hear, hear.) Talk of purity! Every man who went down to the General Assembly as a minister or as an elder, every man who went to the General Conference, and mingled with it, and recognised a man-thief, a child-stealer, and a woman-whipper, as a brother in Christ, had ratted on the question of slavery. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD related an instance of his having travelled with a Presbyterian minister, who had a slave with him, and was the owner of fifteen slaves. He, however, begged to say, that there were west of the Alleghany mountains six synods, including 130 Presbyteries, who excluded slave-holders from their community. (Cheers.)

Mr. FULLER asked whether the General Assembly, to which the Presbyterian minister he had spoken of belonged, had not, with a full knowledge of his being a slave-holder, recognised him as a minister of Christ.

The Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD was understood to say that was the old school—that the individual had a seat there, and had moved the postponement of a memorial from a presbytery on the subject of slavery.

Mr. FULLER would inquire whether the new school General Assembly did not adjourn three years ago, and give the question of anti-slavery the "go-by?" and whether the General Assembly did not, at that time, call on the synods to rescind their resolution that kept slave-holders out of the pulpits.

The Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD (to the Convention)—Shall I answer?

Mr. FULLER.—I hope so.

The Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD said the General Assembly did not

adjourn; they sat too long, (hear,) they sat till the western delegates had all gone home. After the abolition delegates had gone away, some of the members got up, wept and blubbered, and got a vote passed to request those presbyteries who had shut out slaveholders to rescind the vote, on the ground that it was a rescinding act like that by which the old and new school had been separated. They frightened the General Assembly by declaring those presbyteries had acted disorderly, but the presbyteries repassed their vote in more emphatic language, and sent back a severe rebuke to the assembly. (Cheers.)

Mr. ARNOLD BUFFUM, of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, said he had travelled 1,000 miles, and crossed the Atlantic, to attend that meeting. He had been an abolitionist for sixty years. There was much in America which must grieve all. He admitted that too many of their churches were still anti-abolitionist; but there were beginning to be honourable exceptions. However, as Sir G. Strickland had declared, abuses and cruelties must continue so long as slavery existed; and to destroy it, the great bulwark of slavery in America, the churches, must be beaten down. There was prejudice against colour; not because they were black, but because the coloured race had been plundered, abused, robbed, and sinned against in every possible way. The truth ought to be, must be spoken. In Philadelphia and elsewhere, coloured people, free coloured people, most worthy and excellent characters, applied to chapels to be admitted to fellowship; but they were refused. He had been of the Society of Friends; but he should speak the truth on this matter. In the meeting-houses and schools of the Friends in Philadelphia the coloured persons were separated from the whites. (Hear.) Some assigned as a reason that there was an "effluvia" from the blacks. But if they waited on the whites, if they reached over to hand dishes, if they stood behind their chairs, there was no "effluvia;" though if the table were sixty feet long, and a coloured man were seated even at the other end of it, then there was the "effluvia." (Cheers and laughter.) He then gave a powerful description of the destruction, by anti-abolition fire, of Pennsylvania Free Hall in Philadelphia, raised for the 20,000 free people of colour; an event of everlasting disgrace to the city of Philadelphia. (Great cheering.) When Dr. Benjamin Franklin was Governor of Pennsylvania, no distinction regarding colour was made in receiving the votes of free citizens; but Pennsylvania had received a new constitution, and it had disfranchised all the people of colour. (Hear, hear.) Any one who had African blood in his veins—free or slave—he grieved to say had little chance of justice, right, or liberty in his country, the United States of America. (Hear, hear.) He knew the case of a man who was the natural son of a planter's daughter in Virginia, by a slave. This man was as fair as any one in the Convention, with light hair and blue eyes. He grew up to man's estate as the companion of the legitimate son of his mother, his younger half-brother. On the death of the grandfather the bulk of the property was left to the latter; but not being of business habits, he took his half-brother into partnership. After a while the connexion was dissolved, and the natural son went to settle in North Carolina, intending there to carry on business. Some time after he had left his younger brother, it happened that some horse-jockeys came in the latter's neighbourhood, and he bought some horses of them, giving them in exchange a bill of sale, by which he made over to them his brother in North Carolina. Now the latter was a free man, not only by the law of God, but even by slaveholder's law, who have for their own interest provided that the slave follows the condition of the mother. But, as I have before remarked, there is little help, either from law or justice, for the coloured man, be he free or be he slave. When, however, these horse-dealers came to see the man who had been made over to them as a slave, they did not dare to take him at once, but resold him to some inter-state slave-dealers, or soul-drivers, as they are very properly called, even by the slaveholders themselves; to whom, after seizing the unhappy man, they carried him. The soul-drivers, however, declared that no person would believe that a person with light silky hair and such a fair complexion was a slave; "but," said they, "if you will colour his skin, and crisp his hair, so as to make him saleable, we will purchase him." This demoniacal proposition was actually carried into practice; the man was taken into the woods, his skin was blackened with aqua-fortis, his hair was burned and crisped, and he was then taken back and sold. He, however, effected his escape, but he dared not, in his deplorable state, return to his wife and family. He was there found, some weeks afterwards, by the aged Friend who related the melancholy story to me, who with infinite difficulty persuaded him to go back to them, and promised that he would commence proceedings against his oppressors. Pending, however, the decision, the victim died of a broken heart, and the disease he had contracted by exposure in the cold, damp woods. (This affecting relation excited a powerful sensation in the Convention.)

Mr. J. CANNINGS FULLER begged to add to what he had previously said, and he spoke as a Friend, that the Society had not fully done its duty in America, so far as the question of abolition was concerned. Without adopting any language of his own, he would just remind those of the Society of Friends who were present, as well as those who were absent, that in the last address of the Governor of New York, that gentleman declared, that had the Quakers—the Society of Friends—done their duty, had they thoroughly and throughout carried out their own principles, slavery at the present moment would not exist in the United States of America. (Immense cries of "hear, hear," and cheering.)

The morning sitting at half-past two o'clock adjourned till four o'clock.

#### THURSDAY EVENING.

Mr. GURNEY took the chair shortly after four o'clock.

The Rev. JOHN ANGELL JAMES, of Birmingham, said the Convention could neither wonder nor regret that so much time had been granted to those gentlemen who had attended on this important occasion from a distant land to enlighten the people of this country on the subject of slavery. Notwithstanding the obloquy that had been cast upon those devoted men, they had travelled some of them 1,000 miles over land, and 3,000 miles over the ocean, to raise their voices against the atrocious system which prevailed in their native land. (Loud cheering.) The statements which had been made by these delegates had been listened to with deep attention, and with thankfulness to Almighty God. The progress which was making in the anti-slavery cause in the United States was a glorious

triumph, for so soon as slavery was abolished in America, a heavy blow would be struck at the infamous system all over the world. (Hear, hear.) After some allusion to the proceedings of the morning, the rev. gentleman said he rejoiced with exceeding joy that forty seminaries in America had opened their doors for the admission of men of colour, who would for the future be enabled to avail themselves of the advantages of instruction in theology and general literature. Hitherto the American church had been the bulwark of slavery; without its co-operation it could not have existed. He would not enter at length into a consideration of the resolutions which he intended to propose, but would conclude by reading them. They were as follow:—

" 1. That this Convention hereby declares to the world its deliberate and solemn conviction that slavery, in whatever form or country it exists, is intrinsically opposed to all natural justice and genuine Christianity; that in proportion as these exert their legitimate vigour and influence in society, it must be destroyed; and that while the Convention deeply deplores the sanction or support still given to it, either overtly or tacitly, by so many churches and religious bodies, especially in the United States, it rejoices in the assurance that so many others are bearing their public and decided testimony against it, refusing to retain in their communion those who, after one admonition, persist in the justification and practice of it.

" 2. That, encouraged by the progress of earnest sentiment and action on this subject in the churches and religious bodies of America and other countries, this Convention repeats the testimony of the Convention of 1840—that while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned, in the spirit of the Gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow creatures or holding them in slavery—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave trade.

" 3. That this Convention, while it passes no judgment on the particular forms of action which different friends of the slave in different circumstances may adopt, hereby expresses its cordial sympathy and high admiration of all those, who, in a Christian spirit and by Christian methods, are sincerely and earnestly labouring to purify their respective religious connexions from all fellowship with and support of this heinous sin."

The Rev. Dr. RITCHIE, of Edinburgh, seconded the resolution, declaring, but deeply deploring, that the church of America was immersed in pro-slaveryism. Its bulwarks must be beaten down or slavery could not be exterminated. He made no allowances for laymen, as they were termed; the ministers were what the congregations made them. (Hear.)

The Rev. J. BIRT, of Manchester, Baptist minister, supported the resolution, declaring that the sustaining slavery was sin; that it was denounced by the New Testament among the most heinous sins against God; and that slave-holders, and congregations, and ministers, constituted of slave-owners, could not be viewed as, and received as, Christians. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the spirit of these resolutions would extend farther than the slave-holding churches, ministers, and congregations; that they would be viewed as denouncing slavery, by whomsoever practised, enforced, or countenanced. He considered that prejudice against colour was as wicked as the slavery of the South, and therefore held, that any minister or professor of religion, who refused to associate with coloured people, was unworthy of being regarded as a brother. (Hear, hear.)

Lord MORPETH (to whose presence Mr. Birt had made allusion) said that he rose merely for one word of explanation. He was present to show his respect for that Convention; to hear what might be stated; to learn their proceedings; and to be the better prepared for his duties on Wednesday; but till then—for then he should have his say—he trusted that the Convention would allow him to remain silent; he hoped they would allow him to act on that tenacity of purpose for which the anti-slavery advocates had credit, and reserve his observations till Wednesday. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said they would be happy to have his presence and countenance. (Cheers.) His noble friend had most handsomely consented to take the chair at the general annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on Wednesday next. (Cheers.) He need not say how highly the friends of their cause were indebted to his lordship's exertions. (Cheers.)

Rev. HENRY C. HOWELLS remarked, that the coloured population of America had to contend with tremendous difficulties. In proportion to the respectability of their character was the acuteness of their sufferings. It was scarcely possible for a family who had succeeded in raising itself above the degraded condition of their people to leave their homes without being followed by a multitude of white persons who were perpetually shouting, "Nigger, nigger." He expressed the conviction, that if the people of England so willed it, this country could, in two or three years, put an end to slavery in America. (Hear, hear.) He would not undertake to declare that slaveholders, or those who supported slaveholders, were not Christians; but he would submit that they ought not to hold fellowship with owners of slaves. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE observed, in consequence of what passed at the morning sitting, that, if the Quakers in America, in their corporate capacity, and at their annual meetings, had not done all that might be wished, and if they had been in any degree misunderstood, he hoped their conduct on this question would be such as to warrant the amplest and most unqualified approbation. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. JOHN MORISON, of the Congregational Board, said that he had acted upon the principle of not holding any fellowship with parties connected with slavery and slave-holding. That must be done in America. Obloquy must attach—and that mark ought to extend from that Convention—and until it was done, they would produce but a slender moral impression upon the public mind in America. They hated slavery from their heart's core, and therefore ought they to tell the Americans that they were ashamed of all professing Christians who did not in every manner and under all circumstances resist slavery and disown slave-holders. (Hear, hear.) He wished always to speak with unqualified approbation of America, but he could not, until he saw a different state of society. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BURRUM explained. What he had said that morning applied to Philadelphia and its Society of Friends only.

The CHAIRMAN said, if any branch of their Society had refused fellowship to any one on account of colour, that was contrary to the rules of their Society, and would not be sanctioned by any of their yearly meetings. (Hear.)

Captain CHARLES STUART said that nothing was so common as to hear the system of slavery condemned; but he regretted to declare that he had not seen the practice correspond with such sentiments in America. He admitted that the American churches, with few but honourable and increasing exceptions, were the great bulwarks of slavery. He grieved to add, that the bulk of the ministers were slaveholders, hence the cause of such an extraordinary and deplorable state of things. (Hear.)

After some further conversation, the resolutions were put and unanimously adopted.

The Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT, then in an able speech laid before the Convention some valuable details illustrative of the general influence of slavery, considered in a commercial and financial point of view, and also of its effects on the political institutions of the United States. He opened by strongly describing the circumstances that led to the extensive "crash" that took place in America three or four years ago. That contributed to the depreciation of slaves; but that did not induce the owners to think of diminishing the numbers of them; for where did they ever find unrighteous power forego its hold? And as regarded this question, the desire to hold power over fellow-man was found to be stronger even than avarice. (Hear, hear.) Hence the difficulties attending the accomplishment of the extinction of slavery. (Hear, hear.) They had heard much of the separate sovereignties of the states; but the claims for them had resulted from slavery. The slave states found that they could not sustain slavery if all were to be under one Government, and therefore they claimed the right of internal government and regulation. He explained the management of the franchise by which five slaves are counted as three free-men, and showed how this gave the "slave-power" a preponderance in their representation. The Congress was hence bound to obey the biddings of the slaveholders. Slavery controlled the American Government. When they declared their independence, they justified it on the inalienable rights of every individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They had departed from the principle on which they set out, of the supreme rights of individual man, and *habeas corpus*, the birthright of every Englishman, had been taken from a large class of their coloured countrymen. The ascendant power of the upholders of slavery made America such as it was, namely, in the way of everybody in the whole world. But he believed that slavery had done its worst for the United States. He did not despair of America. He believed she would still work out her redemption—and he was impressed with the conviction that if such object were accomplished it would be by means of this, the world's Convention. However, let them not deceive themselves. They had to contend with an enemy who would die hard. The institution, as they termed it—and it was an institution only if hell itself produced institutions—(cheers)—was pernicious in every respect and tendency. They who would sustain slavery were ready for anything. No laws, no treaties, no honour, could bind such parties. (Hear.) He contended that the principles of the declaration of independence had been departed from, and, on the question of slavery, by the late President, Martin Van Buren, he who now sought to be President a second time—a northern man, but with southern principles. (Hear, hear.) The constitution of the United States knew nothing of man having property in his fellow-man; and yet States in America claimed and held such property by means of laws. Till that doctrine was reversed, there was no hope for the United States. (Hear, hear.)

The Convention then, at eight o'clock, adjourned till ten o'clock on Friday.

#### FRIDAY MORNING.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., in the chair.

After the usual period of devotional silence, the minutes of the preceding day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN, previously to the commencement of business, read a letter from Mr. J. Wigham, Jun., of Edinburgh, accounting for his absence, in consequence of still prevailing indisposition. In the course of the letter Mr. W. said, "When the report from the Committee was read, it struck me that too little prominence was given to the manner the members of both the late and the present Government have acted in all matters connected with slavery both in the East and in the West Indies; and I hope a special resolution will be passed before the Conference separates, acknowledging the zealous co-operation of the Ministers of the Crown in this good work." (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. THOS. SCALES, the Secretary, read the minutes of the Committee appointed to prepare minutes expressive of sympathy and affection towards Thos. Clarkson and Wm. Allen, which gave great satisfaction, and were unanimously adopted.

Mr. J. STURGE suggested that the like expression of sympathy should be awarded to Sir T. F. Buxton, whose health was such as, he feared, to preclude the hope of his being able again to take part in public business. They would appreciate the value of Fowell Buxton's exertions on recollecting that when he first came forward in support of this cause he stood almost alone; they might from this be able to form some idea of the value of his services. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN said, nearly related as he was to Fowell Buxton, he might be pardoned for mentioning that he adopted the cause very early in life, and when it was hardly supported in public life by any body else than Wm. Wilberforce, Dr. Lushington, and Fowell Buxton; that it had been, in fact, the business of that individual's life; and he hesitated not to declare, that no small portion of his present sufferings was attributable to his intensity of feeling on this subject. (Hear, hear.)

It was then referred to the previous committee to prepare a minute expressive of sympathy and affection towards Sir T. Fowell Buxton.

The Rev. Mr. SPENCER, of Hinton, near Bath, rose, and after alluding with regret to the resolution passed at the last Convention condemnatory of the importation into this country of slave-grown sugar, and other produce (as proposed by the Melbourne Ministry in 1841), moved the fol-

owing resolution:—"That in the judgment of this Convention, the introduction of the slave-grown produce of Cuba and Brazil into competition with the free-grown produce of the British West India colonies and British India, is rendered necessary as an act of justice to the people of this country, and is in consistency with the principles on which this Convention is constituted." After quoting from the "Report on Free Labour," presented to the last Convention, as well as from the speeches of Sir J. Jeremie, and Messrs. Turnbull, Scoble, &c., delivered on the occasion of passing the resolution referred to; he pointed out what he deemed the inconsistency with the conclusion arrived at, namely, that free labour was cheaper than slave labour, of seeking protection for the West Indies. With respect to the argument that we ought not by using slave-labour produce to give encouragement to slavery and the slave-trade; he found no fault with those who conscientiously objected to consume slave-grown produce, but then they must not compel him to adopt the same views against his own opinions. (Cheers.) He deprecated the plan of going to Government and asking them to make laws and regulations to oblige others to act according to our views of right. If we did this, we had no right to complain when they interfered to oblige us to do things which other people thought right. They ought to be particularly cautious that they did nothing directly or indirectly to countenance restrictions of any sort; what were those, for instance, upon trade? Why only the slavery of the merchants. They must take special care to be consistent in all their proceedings. Instead of thanking Ministers for what they had done, and requiring them to do more, he would have the Ministers do less—to leave trade, commerce, education, and even religion alone. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. GEORGE W. ANSTIE, of Devizes, as an abolitionist, most heartily and entirely seconded the resolution. He thought if it could be shown that by any rational and practicable plan of self-denial regarding subjects of slave produce, slavery itself could be brought into increased odium, and its extermination promoted, they were bound to adopt it. (Hear, hear.) The indirect support given to the West India proprietors regarding sugar was unjust to the labourers and people of England; and, therefore, as an injustice, it ought not to be continued. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GEORGE PILKINGTON said, there was nothing inconsistent in declaring that by encouraging Brazilian sugar they injured the free labourer of the West Indies; for the Brazils was a country of vast extent; and it had now 2,500,000 slaves. The labour of so many slaves was calculated to injure the efforts of the much smaller number of freemen in the West Indies. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JAMES RICHARDSON, of Leeds, said: I quite agree with the mover of the resolution that we are in danger, not so much from the want as the excess of legislation. (Applause.) If we take the simple principle that the province of a government is to protect life, liberty, and capital, it affords a key by which the Convention ought to be regulated. The question is this—Do the restrictive laws infringe upon the great principle of government? if they did, it became the interest of all men to oppose them. I maintain that every man has a right to bring his produce into this country, and to sell it in our markets, and that every man in this country has a right to buy it. (Great applause.) He proposed as an amendment, that for the words "the people of this country," there be introduced "all parties and people interested in the question." (Hear, hear.)

The mover and seconder agreed to such amendment forming part of the original resolution.

Mr. BLAIR said: I firmly believe that the province of Bengal could produce a sufficiency of sugar to supply the entire of Europe, and drive the produce of Cuba and the Brazils out of the market. If we continue to refuse to take the produce of those countries, what moral or political influence can we hope to exercise upon them? We see through the hollow pretence of Government; they know that those laws are intended solely to protect the interests of the West India planters. (Applause.) I distrust the new-born anti-slavery zeal, manifested by many at present who formerly either preserved a profound silence or a determined opposition. (Applause.) The only effect of government interference was to exasperate other nations, and induce them to pass hostile tariffs. (Applause.) If we consented to remove the restrictive laws, we might almost dictate our own terms to Brazil and Cuba. (Hear, hear.) Restrictive policy had signally failed to produce any effect upon the slave-holding countries.

Mr. E. N. BUXTON said he did not rise to defend Sir R. Peel; no one, he supposed, would suspect him of that; and if defence were requisite, he would leave it to the Member of Parliament who was present on the platform (Mr. Cobden). (Cheers and laughter.) But if any one countenanced their proceedings—if they supported what was right—he could not look at the motives, but at the acts of parties. As to the resolution, without entering upon the question of free trade, though he was against the protective system, he must oppose it. It was proved that the slave-trade raged in the Brazils: that 150,000 negroes were stolen and carried across the sea annually for such country, and could he sanction that measure which would not only support slavery, but encourage and give an immense stimulus to what was still more abominable—the slave-trade? (Cheers.) Was he, were they, to adopt a step that would give such fearful additional support to slavery and the slave-trade? (Hear.) It was said that they already admitted slave-grown cotton. (Hear, hear.) He admitted it, but he deplored it. He wished such was not the fact. But did it follow because they had committed one sin they were to be guilty of another? He could not sanction such a course, and he therefore moved as an amendment,—"That the introduction of slave-grown produce from Cuba and Brazil is calculated to encourage the system of slavery in the former countries, and to stimulate the African slave-trade."

Mr. J. T. PRICE, of the Falmouth Ladies' and Swansea Anti-Slavery Association, seconded the amendment. He could not support the resolution, for it would tend to encourage slavery and the slave-trade. If it were adopted, he did not know how he could conscientiously any longer go along with that Convention, the exclusive object of which he understood to be, the adoption of means for the extermination of slavery.

Mr. J. C. FULLER produced a sample of unrefined sugar, manufactured from the India corn-stalk in Delaware, United States, which he wanted all present to see, and the women as well. (A laugh.) Oh, but they mustn't go tasting it! (Loud laughter.) This sugar was the result of a first experiment; 1,000 lbs. of it could be obtained from one acre, and the sugar might be easily and cheaply manufactured by the farmers at an

expense, in fact, of only 4 cents per lb.; one Indian corn-stalk yielding 2 per cent. more of saccharine matter than the sugar-cane itself. He (Mr. Fuller) came there to maintain the rights of humanity, and not to discuss free-trade (hear, hear); and he must condemn the gross inconsistency of those who advocated the cause of anti-slavery, and yet consumed slave-grown produce! They were not to do evil that good might come! He expressed his fears that this discussion of the principles of free trade would lower the tone of the Convention in the opinion of the public. He was decidedly against any consumption of slave-produced articles, and should, therefore, support any plan that would prevent the consumption of such articles. (Hear, hear.)

Col. NICHOLLS, late Governor of Fernando Po, supported the amendment. He had been in the service forty-seven years; he had been on the African coast; he had been in Cuba; he had seen the horrors of the slave trade and slavery; and he, therefore, most earnestly called on that Convention not to stultify themselves, and defeat what they had done, by sanctioning slavery in any country by receiving any of its products.

Mr. COBDEN, M.P., on presenting himself, was received with great applause. The honourable gentleman said: I received with my diploma, appointing me a delegate to this Convention, a letter on the subject we are now discussing, from one of the greatest advocates of abolition in Manchester. I was requested to attend, particularly if any proposition was made which, by way of forwarding the cause of abolition, would have the effect of restricting trade. I am not coming here to try to convert this into a free-trade hall. The question before us is this—Are we, or are we not, taking the right course to promote the abolition of slavery all over the world, by calling upon Government to pass fiscal laws for restricting commercial intercourse? I have the strongest possible opinion that you would be wrong to call upon Government to aid you in any one way. Nay, I go further, and say that I believe that what has been done through the Government has done more to retard the sacred cause of freedom than almost anything else. (Cheers, and cries of "No, no.") Mr. Cobden then referred, in support of his assertion, to the armed cruisers on the African coast, the Niger expedition, and the semi-official interference of Mr. Turnbull in Cuba, all which, he contended, not only had failed in effecting good, but had injured the cause by exasperating other nations, and had nearly plunged us in war on many occasions, and recently with Portugal, which would merely be the submission of a weak to a powerful country; and with the United States of America, which, in all probability, would have involved all Christendom in carnage. The hon. gentleman continued: Here we are going to Government to do by act of Parliament what ought to be done by acting upon public opinion. (Cheers.) You propose to pass a law to prevent Brazilian sugar coming in here. It has been said that if you don't pass such a law you encourage slavery. But suppose such a law passed, would it succeed? You support slavery as much in exporting as in importing. (Cheers, and cries of "No, no.") You say, No. What is the course of trade? We send our cotton or other goods to the Brazils, and bring home in exchange their sugar, and send that sugar to Hamburg, and buy with it German wool. (Cheers.) Now, I say that you who wear that wool are as much encouraging slavery as if you consumed the sugar. (Great cheering.) We go and buy sugar from the Brazilians, and as we have a scruple of conscience in consuming it ourselves, we sell it again for tallow, hemp, wool, and other commodities, and the consumers of those articles are, I maintain, encouraging slavery. (Great cheering.) You must stop exporting as well as importing—you must isolate Great Britain, to carry out your views: is that the way you propose to civilize the world? (Cheers.) That was not the way our Redeemer acted on earth; he mixed with the good and with the bad; and I say to you, mix with the bad as well as the good, and the force of your example will prevail. There is not one of those friends who came from America that did not travel in vessels laden with slave-grown cotton or tobacco. (Cheering.) You are now the carriers of Brazilian sugar; but if you place restrictions upon commerce, you will assuredly throw that trade into the hands of the Germans. Government interference will do more harm than good, as it has done in every instance, except when it put down slavery in our own dominions. (Cheers.) Do not appeal to any immoral and wicked Government to put down by brute force that which ought to be put down by public opinion. I find, in the present cabinet, men whose pockets are filled with money, the price of the flesh and blood of their fellow-creatures. Have no partnership with such men. (Great cheering.) Your plan is utterly impracticable. Commerce cannot be bound and cramped in the way you propose. You can carry your objects by other and better means—the force of public opinion—and is not this meeting a proof that you can do so? (Cheers.) Look back five or ten years, and see what immense strides you have made. You have brought to this Convention men, some of whom have travelled a thousand miles by land, and three thousand by sea. Put forward from this room an appeal to the whole world, and be assured that it will have its effect all over the world. (Applause.) I would be sorry if it was for a moment thought that I came here for the purpose of carrying a resolution in favour of free trade. I never saw that resolution until I entered the Hall. I am here in the name of the Anti-Slavery Society of Manchester, to protest against this body taking any step similar to that taken by the London committee three years ago, in advising that Government should put restrictions in any way upon foreign trade. Mr. Cobden concluded amidst great and long-continued applause.

Mr. SCOBLE rose to speak in favour of the amendment, which he supported in a very able and energetic speech, defending the vote of the former Convention, and strongly condemnatory of the policy of encouraging slave-grown produce. The honourable member, Mr. Cobden, had said that slavery was to be put down by commercial intercourse. But what had commercial intercourse effected towards this object? Is not slavery sustained in America by the commercial intercourse with this country? (Cheers.) At present, the produce of Cuba and Brazil were warehoused in those countries, without a market to which they might be shipped. The honourable gentleman and those who had preceded them had failed to show that the giving them a market, would tend to put down slavery. He challenged them to do this. In the name of humanity, he called upon them to starve slavery to death, by withholding encouragement to the introduction of slave products. (Great cheering.)

Rev. C. HOWELLS addressed the Convention in support of the amendments, after which it adjourned until four o'clock.

(Continued on page 106.)

## NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communication for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

## FUNDS.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg very earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of their friends to the subject of Funds, and to urge upon them the necessity of liberal contributions in aid of the great objects the Society has in view. They would especially remind them of the additional heavy expenses which will necessarily attend the forthcoming Convention, and beg to suggest the propriety of a distinct subscription to meet the same. Those friends who have collecting books will have the kindness to forward any such sums as they may have collected, as early as convenient. Donations and subscriptions are received by the treasurer, G. W. Alexander, Esq., at the office of the Society, No. 27, New Broad-street, London.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 21, 1843.

The General Anti-Slavery Convention closed its important sittings last evening. The fruits of its counsels and acts will hereafter appear. That so large a body of men should be drawn together from various parts of the world by a common sympathy and a common object, is a striking fact. Forgetting national jealousies, they came together to do homage to humanity in its most degraded and oppressed forms, and to lift up their voice in solemn protest against the oppressor. And their voice will be heard in thunder tones to the very ends of the earth, awakening the conscience, and arousing the fears, of the guilty traffickers in men, and their no less guilty abettors, the slaveholders; whilst to the hearts of the oppressed, it will be as music speaking of hope, and love, and liberty.

In our present number, we can do no more than call attention to the interesting matter contained in its columns, which we trust will have a wide circulation. In our next, we hope to be able to take up the consideration of those points which were of the highest interest and importance in the proceedings of the Convention. We shall also give a full report of the proceedings of the Public Meeting to be held this day in Exeter Hall.

## ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE following notice will be read with interest:—We are reluctantly obliged, from want of space, to leave out similar ones from the *Nonconformist* and *Pictorial Times*. The last number of the latter paper contains some excellent illustrations of the incidents of slavery in Brazil, the United States, &c., which we commend to the attention of our readers.

(From the *Morning Advertiser*.)

THE Convention of the Society for abolishing slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, has again commenced its sittings in London. Every friend of humanity must rejoice to witness the gathering of this large assembly, consisting of between three and four hundred delegates from the various bodies which they represent in different countries, for attaining the objects of a pure and genuine philanthropy. The proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society, with a view to the emancipation of our own slaves, are sufficiently known to have secured for its members the fear of the slaveholder, and the respect and confidence of every benevolent mind; and the declaration made by the world's Convention now assembled, puts it out of the power of all who do not wish to misunderstand and misrepresent, to form an unfavourable view of the grand design at which the Convention aims, and the means by which it is proposed that that design shall be accomplished. The principle of the Convention is, "That, so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no means be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

We are satisfied that the only way to destroy the abominable traffic in slaves is to go to the root of the evil, and aim the most determined thrusts at slavery itself; and on this account we feel assured that the utmost vigilance that can be employed, the most stringent international laws that can be made, will all prove ineffectual attempts to put down the odious traffic in man, while the custom of slaveholding remains. Let the material of trade remain, let the high rewards of carrying on the trade continue to tempt the avarice of unprincipled men, and there will never be wanting those who are ready to drive the diabolical trade at all risks.

It was expected that the proceedings of the Convention would have been conducted under the presidency of the venerated Thomas Clarkson, whose name has long been a watchword to the friends of slave emancipation throughout our country. The illness of this good man has, we regret to observe, prevented his attendance, and yielded some discouragement to many of the delegates, especially to those from America, who had felt peculiar anxiety to see the

man whose labours originated the movement of modern times in behalf of the slave. His presence was in some measure supplied by the very interesting document prepared by his own hand, and which he had intended to read, showing the present aspect of the emancipation cause throughout the world. To this document, which appears in another column, and is extremely interesting, we address our readers' most earnest attention.

It is most gratifying to find in the Convention no lack of men from various countries, who are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the venerable originator of this great movement, many of whom have been excited to activity by his writings and his example. If Diogenes had happened to be in town in this month of June, we think we could tell him which road he ought to take, and, with or without his lantern, we should urge him at once to make for Freemasons' Hall, where he would find not a few honest and benevolent men who are now assembled to promote the spread of truth and freedom throughout the world. We find among the delegates a gentleman of colour from Hartford, in Connecticut, where he officiates as the minister of a congregation composed principally of black persons. He is the representative of the millions in America who are naturally abolitionists, and who, according to his own statement, are most grateful for the efforts which are now being made in their behalf. His intelligence, his gentlemanly bearing, his strong sense of wrong as an oppressed man, his Christian feelings towards the oppressors of his people, and his love of the country in which his race are sufferers, are calculated to make him many friends, and greatly help forward the cause which has brought him to this land. Without particularising the gentlemen who have already spoken at the Convention, we are satisfied that the good cause is in hands which, under the great Author of truth and freedom, insure its very rapid advancement and ultimate triumph. Regarding the proceedings of the Convention as among the most interesting movements now making in behalf of the human family, we shall be careful to furnish a full report of its proceedings.

(Continued from page 104.)

## EVENING SITTING.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., in the chair.

The Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT differed from his respected colleagues on the question which had received so much consideration; and if he were called upon to vote, he should certainly vote for the original resolution. He did not, however, wish to adopt that course. He trusted that the question would be justly, equitably, amicably, and satisfactorily adjusted in some other way. It was necessary that the Convention should consider the moral influence of the prosperity of the British islands on the question of abolition in America and other countries. In order to show this we should apply to those islands the same measure as that applied to the people of other countries. Were those people not prosperous in the same way that we should decide the prosperity of any other people? The mass of the people had been wonderfully improved. We should not look merely to the quantity of sugar they exported as an evidence of their prosperity. The question of emancipation should never be weighed in the same balance with sugar hogsheads. (Hear, hear.) There could be little doubt that their improved tools, their advanced skill in agriculture, their machinery, animal labour, and steam power, would soon enable them to produce as much sugar as in the palmiest days of slave labour. He thought the most advisable plan of proceeding would be to throw the people of those islands on their own resources. With respect to the argument that by restrictive duties on slave produce, we should force the slaveholder to give up his slaves, he did not think that would be the case. By preventing him from gaining a large profit on his investment, we might keep him a comparatively poor man, but he would not give up his slaves for all that, for it was not avarice alone, but the love of power quite as much, which induced him to continue a slaveholder. Moreover, he did not think it right that the people of one country should be taxed for the sake of conferring a benefit on those of another. It was unjust in principle, that burdens should be laid on the people of England, even for the sake of putting down slavery. (Hear, hear.)

The Right Hon. Dr. LUSHINGTON was received with loud cheers. He rose to deliver his sentiments on this most important question. He believed it of the greatest and gravest consequence, whether considered in respect to the state of slavery in the West Indies, or to the great principle upon which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had been founded. He came there totally unprepared, for the discussion, but felt it imperative to deliver his sentiments. (Hear, hear.) He apprehended the real point was, supposing the duty on Brazilian and Cuba sugar to be greatly reduced, so that they should come into competition with free produce, would it tend to injure or stimulate the atrocious trade in slaves? He declared that there never was a question that appeared to him more capable of demonstration. Take the case as it stood. Supposing a duty of 11s. or 14s. per cwt. on Cuba and Brazilian sugar, being almost a prohibitory duty in effect; and if even under these disadvantages there was a remunerating price, was it worth their while to sacrifice further the lives, liberties, and all that was dear to those held in slavery, by doing any thing that would render that detestable traffic still more lucrative? (Hear.) What else would be the consequence of opening up a new market? Would not the price of slave-grown sugar then rise? Would it not be a stimulus to raise more slave sugar? And could that be done without offering a fresh stimulus to destroy the living slave, and bringing another from Africa to supply his place? (Cheers.) And then on whose conscience would rest the blame? (Hear, hear.) Most assuredly not on the members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which had taken the law of God, and the unalienable rights of man as its guide. (Loud cheers.) He implored them to pause before they countenanced, however remotely, anything that could justify, even in the slightest degree, the continuance of slavery. Because he held these opinions he had been represented as the supporter of monopoly. He was prepared to bear that slander, if such monopoly—if it were such—could only be got rid of by

doing that which should encourage slave labour. (Cheers.) The last vote he gave in Parliament—it was against his own friends—was against propositions that should give any countenance to the products of slave labour; and he was prepared now to abide by the principle then avowed. (Hear, hear.) He concluded a most eloquent and impassioned speech by declaring that he should oppose the amendment proposed.

The Rev. E. MIAULL wished to propose a further amendment.

The CHAIRMAN submitted, that if they proceeded, they would get into inextricable confusion; and that the original question might be put or withdrawn, if disapproved, after such extended discussion as it had undergone. The real question in issue was, ought they, or ought they not, to allow the introduction of Cuba sugar?

The Rev. E. MIAULL said, that if it were the wish of the Convention, he should have no objection to his amendment being merged in that already submitted, but he claimed his right to submit the amendment. The question was, whether they should adopt coercive measures to compel others to co-operate with them for the extinction of slavery? To such question, he should emphatically say, No. (Cheers.) He held it to be the inalienable right of man to dispose of his labour where and how he would; and he who took from an individual his right of unrestricted traffic trespassed upon the fundamental rights of human nature. He did not understand any quarrelling with principle; that which was right could not come to eventual wrong. If they did deviate at all, who should say whether it might lead? (Hear, hear.) Let them go straightforward. Let them not trespass on any right; let them adhere to principle throughout. (He did not, in conclusion, move any additional amendment.)

JOSEPH STUNGE, Esq., in opposing the original resolution, said, that they had agreed that slavery was a crime of the deepest dye. He held it to be his duty to resist strenuously any thing that would tend to foster such a detestable traffic. (Hear, hear.) He would not look to consequences but to principles. If slave-grown produce was known to be such, it ought not to be purchased by the friends of the abolition of slavery. (Hear.) His firm conviction was, that the ground the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had taken two years ago was correct. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. RITCHIE said they had but one question to resolve, the protection and the rescue of the slave, and the extermination of slavery. To promote that object he was ready to make every effort.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER protested against the introduction of slave-produced sugar under any circumstances; in a very few years he believed that we could be amply and fully supplied by means of free labour exerted in India. (Hear, hear.) He read several statistical details of the rapidly increasing production of sugar, coffee, cotton, &c., in British India in support of this opinion. The sugar of Cuba is always raised by the action of the most severe labour from the negroes; and a distinguished individual, Ramon de la Sagra, who had resided many years in Cuba, and is the author of an historical and statistical work on the island, told me, that it frequently occurred that slaves were destroyed by forced labour. He stated, that, when a considerable temptation is offered, by the high price of sugar, to procure as large a crop as possible, a proprietor will sometimes ask a manager if it is possible to procure 2000 boxes instead of 1500 by forced labour. The managers reply, that the slaves are looking well, and it may be effected, but it will be at the cost of twenty or thirty lives. The proprietor makes his calculation, and draws a balance between the increased quantity of sugar and the pecuniary value of the slaves, and, if he finds that it will yield a profit, he desires them to be forced, and thus the negroes are destroyed. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") He called upon the Convention not by any vote of theirs to give any sanction or encouragement to such an iniquitous system.

Mr. GEORGE KNOX moved a second amendment, "That this Convention does not offer any opposition to the introduction of sugar and other produce from Cuba, Brazil, and other slave-holding states, having confidence that a full and fair competition between free labour and slavery will result in favour of the former, and tend to the more speedy abolition of slavery and the slave-trade."

The Rev. Mr. BENNETT seconded the amendment.

After remarks from several speakers, and much desultory discussion

Mr. BLAIR suggested that they should, after the discussion that had taken place, move the "previous question," and thus close this part of their proceedings.

Mr. JOHN ALLEN moved, and Mr. JOSEPH SAMS seconded the "previous question."

The Rev. Mr. SPENCER declined to withdraw the original resolution, upon a proposition being made to that effect, unless the Convention would express their disapprobation (cries of "No") or their regret (renewed cries of "No") at the resolution against the use of slave-grown sugar, adopted by the previous Convention in 1840. He adverted to the importance of the subject, as it was to engage the attention of the House of Commons on Thursday next, and any resolution of the Convention would be quoted by either party, in whose favour it might appear to be, and carry, no doubt, its just weight. (Hear, hear.) They were, therefore, in a very critical position. He advocated coming to a decision. He could not avoid thinking that Dr. Lushington was much in the same position with a certain clergyman, who impressed upon his flock to do as he said, not as he did, for he observed that the right honourable gentleman the moment he sat down took a pinch of slave snuff. (Immense laughter and cheers.) Was not tobacco as much the blood and bone of the slave as sugar? (Cheers.) It was said that a man must give up all for conscience sake. But that in this case was clearly impracticable. The very metals of which the money in their pockets was made had been produced by slave labour, and so had the paper used for their books and pamphlets by the Anti-Slavery Society itself. (Cheers.) He did say that the amendment brought them to a position that could not be maintained. (Hear, hear.) Let them take their stand upon a right—a grand principle, and not think of deviating from it. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said that it would be his duty to put the last motion made, namely, that of the previous question. If that was not carried, he would then put the amendment, and afterwards, if necessary, the original motion. If it was not out of order, in giving an opinion himself, he would advise that the matter be left undecided at present, unless they could come

to something like unanimity of feeling on the subject. That would be the effect of carrying the previous question.

The "previous question" was then put and carried, there being only about five dissentient hands.

Mr. S. GURNEY then quitted the chair, and the Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD took it for the purpose of enabling

Mr. SCOBLE to present and read the report of the progress of the anti-slavery cause, since the last Convention, in Portugal and its dependencies. It was very full, detailing minutely the state of the law in Portugal regarding slavery; and referring also to the projects propounded in that country. The Secretary said that slavery would be exterminated in Portuguese India in three or four years; and that in the mean time there would be projects repeated before the Portuguese Chambers respecting the African colonies. He reminded the Convention that this progress was a gratifying proof of the value of the Convention's labours in keeping the anti-slavery question constantly before the world.

Mr. ALEXANDER entered into interesting details on the improved feelings in Portugal on the question. He gave an account of his cordial reception by the Viscount Sa de Bandeira, the Conde de Lavradio, and the Duke de Palmella. The improvement in public opinion was gratifying and encouraging; there had been published in Lisbon pamphlets that would do honour to the strongest abolitionists. He proposed that the report be referred to a Committee.

Mr. HINDLEY, M.P., who attended the Convention shortly before its adjournment, seconded the amendment.

It was unanimously agreed to; after which an adjournment took place, shortly after eight o'clock, till ten o'clock on Saturday.

#### SATURDAY MORNING.

Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT in the chair.

After the usual period of devotional silence, the minutes of the fore-going day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the Rev. Hiram Kellogg would bring up a report on the connexion of slavery with the law of the United States, and that Mr. Scoble would then submit a report on slavery in the Spanish colonies.

Mr. KELLOG not being present,

Mr. SCOBLE said, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had many months since transmitted to the island of Cuba a series of questions, for the purpose of eliciting information on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade, and the state of public opinion in reference to these mighty evils, and the prospects there might be of their extinction. To these queries most complete replies had been received, and he had now to present a report founded upon the information they had obtained. The report, after referring to the repeated infractions by successive Spanish Governments of existing treaties, the prolonged negotiations between the two Governments on the question of slavery, and the ultimate rejection by the Spanish Government of the proposed Convention, for the liberation of all slaves introduced into the island of Cuba since the year 1820, in contravention of the treaty with Great Britain and the Spanish laws, stated that this result was brought about by the earnest and threatening remonstrances of this public body in Cuba. From a report made by the commissioners resident at the Havana to the British Government, in June, 1841, it appeared that 7,040 Africans had been emancipated under the treaty of 1817, of whom 1,207 were sent to Trinidad. Of the remainder, the Asiatic cholera had swept away great numbers, and many had been trepanned into positive slavery, so that it was doubted whether more than 2,000 emancipados, or not one-third of the whole number, could be produced. There are also many of them employed in the Cobre Mining Company, an Anglo-American association. The British Government still, however, continued to urge upon the Spanish authorities the fulfilment of the treaty of 1817. Mr. Scoble concluded by vindicating the conduct of Mr. Turnbull, the British resident at Cuba, who had drawn upon himself the hatred and opposition of the Spanish authorities, by his exposure of their nefarious practices in conniving at the slave-trade, and his unflinching advocacy of the rights of the emancipados. He had also nobly attempted the liberation of many British subjects, held in slavery at Gibara and other parts of Cuba, and had succeeded in rescuing several of these unhappy people.

The Rev. JONATHAN BLANCHARD moved that the report be referred to the Committee appointed on Portuguese slavery.

Mr. STANSFIELD, of Belfast, seconded the motion.

Mr. F. R. COCKING, late of Havana, said, a residence of four years in the island of Cuba, a knowledge of its language, and an intimate acquaintance with many of its most influential native inhabitants, have been the means of placing me in the possession of facts which I hope to be permitted to make known to this Convention. It has been stated in the House of Lords that the slave-trade has nearly ceased in Cuba. Would to God it were the case! But my own experience causes me to know that although it is not now carried on to the extent which characterized it in former years, it still continues with considerable activity; and I consider it due to David Turnbull, Esq., late Her Majesty's consul at Havana, to state that if there has been of late a momentary paralyzation of slave-trading activity in Cuba, it is to be attributed to the extraordinary exertions of that one man, whose whole mind was absorbed in watching over the infractions of the slave-trade treaties, and in reporting them to the Captain General of the island of Cuba. If the victims of the slave-trade are not now so numerous as they were, their sufferings are greater, because the orders of the Spanish Government to the effect that the slave-trade shall be suppressed, that *vor et præterea nihil*, which in plain and undisguised language means to say, and which in the island of Cuba is understood to mean, "Your infractions of the slave-trade treaties between Spain and Great Britain must not be so scandalously glaring as they have been heretofore. Your deeds of crime must be done in darkness; because, although we tolerate and approve of the continuance of the slave-trade, in order, as we believe, to augment the number of victims that cultivate our soil, that enrich our coffers, that augment our products, that give life and energy to our commerce, and that fill the private pockets of our local authorities; we must endeavour to make it appear that we not only disown the traffic in blood, but that we are determined on putting it down. Be ye advised, therefore, that such glaring infractions of the

slave-trade treaties with Great Britain as come under our immediate notice shall tend to cause you, the importers of African negroes, to lose your property, while we, the Government, benefit therefrom by seizing the victims, and selling them into slavery for our own immediate benefit. Beware, therefore, how your deeds are brought to light. Let the slave-trade continue in secrecy. Give yourselves more trouble than heretofore to conceal your crimes. But let the slave-trade continue." Those orders and the consequences of those orders are the reasons why the sufferings of the victims are now greater than they were before, because the hurry and haste in the landing, the precipitate march from the places of disembarkation to the places of ultimate destination, and the harassing hardships attendant on all these, cause the unfortunate Africans to sink under the intensity of their sufferings, the victims of slave-trading cupidity and of British credulity. I shall now relate a few facts that have very lately come under my immediate notice with respect to the slave-trade, which will serve to prove the correctness of my statement. A short time ago a vessel arrived off the Port of Trinidad de Cuba with a cargo of 300 and odd Africans on board. I saw the vessel myself at Trinidad, and I ascertained the facts that I am now going to state from a person who was a sailor on board of the slaver at the time. This vessel arrived off the port of Trinidad; the captain landed alone and at night, and received orders from the owner or owners to proceed to a small island off the south side of Cuba, there to land his cargo, and afterwards to come into the port of Trinidad and enter his vessel at the Custom-house in ballast. From Trinidad, two or more coasting vessels were immediately despatched to the small island Los Jardinillos, where the Africans were taken on board, and carried to some out-of-the-way landing place, where they were successfully put on shore and conducted to their places of ultimate destination. At Matanzas, a short time since, a slaver arrived, and landed her cargo of 350 Africans within a mile of the city, and under the very eyes of the public. And after the victims were on shore, and far on their way to the interior of the island, the Governor, Garcia Ona, sent a deputation on board to search the vessel and report if she had brought slaves, as had been publicly rumoured; but of course the result of their search was, that she had not brought any. On the 6th day of January, of the present year, the Portuguese brig *Roldan* arrived at Havana with a small quantity of jerked beef on board. Two or three days after the arrival of this vessel, the *Roldan*, while she was yet laying at the wharf with a large piece of jerked beef hanging at the extreme end of her bowsprit, the insignia of all vessels having jerked beef on board for sale, I discovered, through the means of a person whose name I am not at liberty to mention, that she had come from the coast of Africa, with a cargo of 575 Bozal negroes; that she had landed them at a place called La Chorrera, at which place her artillery had been put in the hold near to the keel, under a floor constructed expressly for the purpose, and that a few hundred weight of jerk beef had been taken on board, with which cargo, or part of a cargo, she entered the port of Havana with impunity. This vessel, the *Roldan*, has again sailed from Havana on a slave-trading expedition; but she now wears the Spanish flag, and is called *El Ultimo*. On the 8th day of February, of the present year also, the Portuguese brigantine *Jacinto*, belonging to a French merchant of Havana, named Forcade, sailed on a slave-trading expedition: and as regards this vessel, I shall state a farcical fact illustrative of the manner in which the government of Cuba pretends to put down the slave-trade. This vessel, the *Jacinto*, when fitting out at the wharf of Casa Blanca, at Havana, had been accused of being engaged in the slave-trade; the consequence was, that by order of the Captain-General, she had been removed from the wharf and anchored close under the guns of a Spanish ship-of-war. This hypocritical formality having been gone through with, after the expiration of a few days, she was liberated for want of proof; and while yet laying almost alongside of the ship-of-war, she took her slave-trading cargo on board and went to sea unmolested. But the fact which above all others will serve to prove the correctness of my statement is this. A short time ago, some 250 newly-imported Bozal negroes had been seized at a place called Vereda Nueva, and their case had been submitted by the Captain-General to the opinion of the Assessor-General Villaverde. As soon as it was known to the importers of these Bozals, (the partners or representatives of the notorious Pedro Blanco) that their victims had been seized, they came forward and gave security to a large amount to prove by certificates of baptism, that the negroes were not newly-imported Bozals, as they had been represented to be, but that they were Creole negroes, born and bred on the island. The result was, that the negroes were given up to their pretended masters; in due time, the certificates of baptism were produced and the security cancelled. And these unhappy victims of a corrupt administration, like all others that have been seized by the Government of the island, are now slaves in Cuba. These few facts, which I have chosen out of many that have come under my observation will serve to prove that the slave-trade still continues and will continue, on the shores of the island of Cuba. And I hope to be allowed to endeavour to impress on the minds of all the friends of African freedom, that as long as slavery exists in Cuba and Puerto Rico, the African slave-trade will and must continue on the shores of those islands; and that in a country such as Cuba, where the whole white population, foreigners as well as natives, are all either slave-holders in the deed, or slave-holders in principle, no law or laws, whether for the suppression of the slave-trade, or for the partial amelioration of the condition of the slaves, can have any executive principle, inasmuch as all those whose duty it is to give effect to such laws are interested in defeating them. It is true, that there are in Cuba many of the native born inhabitants who are desirous that the slave-trade should be effectually suppressed; but these men have no voice in the governmental proceedings of their own native country, and I may add, that their desire to see the slave-trade suppressed, does not proceed from a sense of humanity, but from motives of policy; because they all believe that the flood of Africans that continues to inundate their island, serves as an effectual barrier to the accomplishment of their long-cherished and dearest hopes—the independence of Cuba. It is believed that there are 600,000 slaves in Cuba, of whom 4-16ths are said to be native born; 1-16th the wretched residue of Bozal negroes imported into the island previous to the year 1820; and 11-16ths Bozal negroes imported subsequent to that year, (1820,) in contravention of the slave-trade treaties existing between Spain and Great Britain, and consequently contrary to Spanish law. Included in the whole number of slaves, there are

between 9000 and 10,000 Bozal negroes that have been captured by British cruisers from on board of Spanish slavers, the large majority of whom are still held in slavery. And there are several hundreds of colonial British subjects that have been illegally taken away from British West India colonies, and sold into slavery in Cuba. Now, it humbly appears to me, that all these unfortunate people, the colonial British subjects, the Bozal negroes emancipated by the Court of Mixed Commission in virtue of existing treaties, and the Bozal negroes imported into the island of Cuba subsequent to the year 1820, in contravention of these same treaties, are *ipso facto* free, and cannot be considered the legal property of any man. And besides which, it also appears to me that the British Government has a right, and further, that it is even a sacred duty which devolves on our Government, in the interests of humanity or the interests of justice, and in the interests of the national honour, to demand the immediate freedom from bondage, not only of all her colonial subjects, that have been unlawfully removed from British colonies and taken to Cuba as slaves, and of Bozal negroes that have been emancipated by the Court of Mixed Commission; but that she has a right to demand from Spain the freedom of all those Africans that have been illegally and in contravention of existing treaties imported into Cuba subsequent to the year 1820. Because, if this contraband human merchandise had been captured by British cruisers previous to their being landed, they would have been declared to be free by the Court of Mixed Commission, in virtue of existing treaties; if they had been captured by Spanish cruisers the result would have been the same; and if seized and confiscated on shore, the result must inevitably have been the same also. I am personally acquainted with many of these unfortunate people in Cuba, and I here most solemnly avow that they look up to England for sympathy and protection; and having solemnly pledged myself to them when in Cuba to use every means that were legal and moral to ameliorate their present condition, I now have the honour to appeal to this august Convention, and in the name of suffering humanity, in the name of innocence oppressed, and in the name of the sacred image of our beloved Saviour, defiled by unholy and blood-stained hands, humbly to beseech that a petition be presented to Her Majesty's Government, supplicating that measures be immediately taken with the Spanish Government, to the effect that these unhappy people, the colonial British subjects, the Bozal negroes emancipated by the Court of Mixed Commission, and the Bozal negroes imported into the island of Cuba subsequent to the year 1820, including all their descendants, be placed in the full enjoyment of their freedom.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER also addressed the Convention on this subject, amply illustrating it with similar details.

Motion for reference carried.

Mr. BROTHERTON, M.P., after having very earnestly impressed the urgency and justice of the subject, moved, "That the said Committee be authorised to bring up with their report the draft of an urgent representation to the British Government on the present condition of those subjects of this country now illegally held in bondage in the Spanish West India and other foreign colonies, as well as of all in those colonies who have been unlawfully kept in slavery since the year 1820, together with their descendants." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. EWART, M.P., seconded the resolution. He rejoiced to behold so many delegates from the United States. (Hear, hear.) He was a free trade advocate, and an entire abolitionist, and he regarded freedom of commerce as the grand emancipator. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JAMES RICHARDSON, of Leeds, moved the following as an amendment:—"That contemplating the fact that there are upwards of 400,000 slaves, some of them British subjects, now held in bondage in Cuba illegally, and in contravention of treaties existing between Great Britain and Spain, who are entitled to the protection of the British Government; also the additional fact that these 400,000 individuals are so mixed up by marriages, and otherwise, with the slaves who are held in bondage, according to Spanish law, as not to admit of entire separation, and also the fact that 400,000l. of British money has been paid as the price, on consideration of these treaties, this Convention ought not to separate without making a strong representation to her Majesty's Government that the dignity and honour of this nation cannot be sustained without the entire emancipation of all the slaves in Cuba, being the only remedy which will secure the faithful, honest, and full performance of the existing treaties."

Some desultory discussion took place thereon, after which, at the suggestion of Dr. Bowring, the amendment was withdrawn, and the original motion adopted.

M. M. LEON FAUCHER, visitor from France, addressed the meeting in French. He said that he had very great happiness in having the opportunity of attending and addressing the Convention; that he could assure them, there was a strong and extensive feeling in his country in favour of the objects pursued by the Convention; and that it was glorious to contemplate that the time had arrived when, whatever might be the views and compacts of governments, the people sought the amelioration and emancipation of the human race, and the extinction of slavery, as a powerful means towards the realization of such a triumph. (Cheers.) He was rejoiced, he repeated, to have the opportunity of attending there, and to bear his humble testimony to the fact that the influence of England, especially on this question, was great and powerful in France. The exertions, the noble and honourable exertions of that Convention, had won the sympathy of the people of France. He hesitated not to declare that it was the sincere desire of the Government of France to co-operate with that Convention in this cause. There were reasons in France that impeded the progress of this question, but not of a political nature; they were of a pecuniary character. France, however, herein must imitate the noble example of England. (Hear, hear.) He would not undervalue the feelings of his own Government, but he could assure them that if the Government were not friendly to the cause of the abolition of slavery, public opinion in that country would force it to be such. He had also the pleasure of stating, that large portions of the French press were favourable to the cause of exterminating negro slavery. In France they were thankful to the Anti-Slavery Societies for the delegates they had sent to France, and for the information thereby obtained. He might add, that the mighty sacrifices they had made—that England had made—proved that in the still continued agitation of this question she was sincere in her desires and efforts to promote the extermination of slavery. Clouds and darkness had hovered over the two countries of France and England; but he hoped

and thought that they would soon pass away; and he was the more rejoiced to entertain such opinion, because that good understanding must lead to the extinction of negro slavery. It had been in the power of governments to promote unfriendly feelings between the people of different nations—to separate them—to create hostilities; but the people, everywhere, were now beginning to see the justice and advantage of not losing sight of their common interests. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SCOBLE presented a report on slavery in the Dutch colonies.

Mr. TWISS, a delegate from Rotterdam, was then introduced to the Convention, and received with great applause. He said the anti-slavery party in Holland can effect but little, as our government, although pledged to abolition, is opposed to individuals interfering in the discussion of the question. We must, therefore, recommend the slaves in the Dutch colonies to your protection. (Applause.)

Mr. GEORGE W. ALEXANDER addressed the Convention on the same subject, after which the report and accompanying papers were, on the motion of R. PEEK, Esq., seconded by JOSEPH SAMS, Esq., referred to a Committee.

Mr. STURGE proposed, "That the papers already presented to this Convention, by the Delegates from the United States, be referred to a Committee with a view to report thereon, and that the following Delegates, with power to add to their number, be the Committee. Messrs. G. Stacey, S. Southall, J. Dunlop, J. Blanchard, J. Leavitt, J. Bennett, J. H. Hinton, L. Tappan, H. Kellogg, A. Buffum, J. C. Fuller, and J. Carlile.

The motion was seconded by SAMUEL SOUTHALL, Esq., and after some discussion adopted.

The Convention then adjourned until four o'clock.

#### EVENING SITTING.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., in the chair.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER, gave a brief verbal report of the state of the anti-slavery cause in Denmark. The visit of J. J. Gurney to Denmark, where he had had an opportunity of conversing with the King and Queen on the subject of slavery, he trusted would result in some beneficial measure. In the course of his observations, he mentioned the fact that the Moravian missionaries, in the island of St. Thomas, were holders of slaves. He considered that the Moravian mission ought not to receive the support of the friends of missions in this country, while such was their practice. He moved the appointment of a Committee to prepare a report on the best means of abolishing slavery in Denmark.

Rev. A. A. PHELPS seconded the motion.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE said, that he had felt it to be his duty, some two or three years ago, to withdraw his subscription from the Moravian schools, in consequence of what had now been stated.

Mr. SCOBLE stated, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had been in communication with the head of the Moravian mission in this country, and that a minute of remonstrance had been transmitted through him to the chief establishment in Germany. An answer had not yet been received, and, pending this, he thought that they had better not discuss the matter. It was due to the head of the mission here to say, that their communications had been received in the most Christian spirit, and he did hope that a favourable answer to their minute would be received.

Mr. ALEXANDER also said, that it had been decided by a resolution of the Directors of the Mission, that they would not receive compensation for their slaves, in case of an act of emancipation with indemnity being passed by the Government of Denmark. It had been alleged that there were practical legal difficulties in the way of their emancipating their slaves, but there were none in the way of sending them to the British islands.

The Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON (of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society, the gentleman of colour who so ably and feelingly addressed the Convention on Wednesday,) spoke in support of the motion. He said it was important that missionary societies should be anti-slavery advocates; but how happened it that although delegates from English missionary societies were attending that Convention, there was not one delegate from any American mission society? In truth, they declined in America to meddle with the slave question. They said it was a "domestic" question, and would not meddle with it. The Bible Societies there did not give Bibles to the slaves for like reasons. (Hear, hear.)

After some further observations, the Committee was appointed.

Mr. SCALES then read the following report of the Committee on the free people of colour, their capacity, &c., founded on statements and papers submitted at a previous meeting by the Rev. J. W. C. Pennington.

#### REPORT ON THE STATEMENTS OF THE REV. MR. PENNINGTON, RELATIVE TO THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.

"The deeply interesting statement relative to the large numbers of free people of colour in the United States, who are labouring under many privations of a mental, moral, and political kind, in consequence of the strong prejudice existing in the mind of their white fellow-citizens, has been considered by the Committee appointed at a former sitting of this Convention, and that Committee have come to the following conclusions:—

"1. That the people of colour being children of the same heavenly Father, born to equal rights, and endowed with the same faculties, are equally capable with the whites of mental and moral culture.

"2. That, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they at present labour, they have made considerable advancement in civilization, in knowledge, and in genuine piety.

"3. That if the barriers which now obstruct their progress were removed, they would rise to an equality with any other portion of the great human family, in arts, in science, in literature, and in everything which tends to elevate, enoble, and render man happy and useful.

"4. It is therefore the opinion of this Committee, that judicious and persevering efforts should be made by all the friends of liberty to remove those unjust, cruel, and sinful laws and customs, which operate as great and formidable obstacles to the improvement of these oppressed and down-trodden people.

"From these considerations this Committee would respectfully recommend that there should go forth from this Convention an address to all the religious bodies of the United States, earnestly and affectionately

entreating them to lay aside those unlovely and unchristian prejudices which have been so long entertained, to concede to their coloured brethren their equal, social, and religious rights, and to dwell together with them in harmony and love."

Mr. J. C. FULLER moved, and the Right Hon. Dr. LUSHINGTON seconded, "That it be referred to the Committee who had brought in this report to prepare an address, as recommended by them, for the consideration of the Convention."

The Rev. Mr. PENNINGTON expressed the hope that the report would be adopted. It would do them good. His coloured brothers were rising, and they would continue to rise; they were subjected to severe tests, but those were only trials of their worth and Christianity. (Hear.)

Several gentlemen bore testimony to, and pronounced warm eulogiums on the conduct of the free coloured race. Among them were Amasa Walker, Esq., professor of political economy, Oberlin Collegiate Institute, Ohio, United States; the Rev. Dr. Wright, of the Established Church, late of the Cape of Good Hope; Mr. Lewis Tappan, and Dr. Lushington, who especially said, that from very ample experience, he had found, without any exception, the coloured race, having equal opportunities of instruction, were quite equal to keep pace with the whites, (hear, hear,) and that he hoped there would be an end of the pride, and absurd and groundless distinction, founded on the peculiarity of colour. (Hear.) Lord J. Russell, while secretary for the colonies, had appointed a black, a man of decided colour, to be the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, and that appointment had fulfilled every expectation. An universal concurrent testimony was borne to the fact that there was no real distinctive difference in point of talent or ability between the black and white races of the human family.

Mr. SCOBLE presented to the Convention Moses Grandy, a black from North Carolina, who had purchased his freedom, "three times over," at 1,800 dollars. [He was a fine, tall, full-grown man, apparently about 45 years of age.] His appearance and narrative excited great interest.

Mr. SCOBLE then read a report regarding the slave-trade carried on at Tunis, where the Bey declared he would do all in his power to put an end to the slave-trade and to slavery. The Bey had now no personal slaves; he had emancipated them immediately. He had done so in admiration of the "perfect Lord Palmerston," and of the "perfection of his principles." The slave-markets of Tunis had since been abolished, and those markets had been despoiled and levelled with the ground. (Applause.) The Bey had also taken measures for putting an end to slavery itself throughout his dominions. Mr. Scoble hoped the Convention would vote an address to the Bey. (Hear.)

Mr. WILLIAM BALL moved, "That this Convention has learned with sincere satisfaction the noble conduct of his Highness the Bashaw, Bey of Tunis, in abolishing slavery and the slave-trade in his dominions; and that a Committee be appointed to draft an address to his highness expressive of that satisfaction."

Mr. PETER CLARE, of Manchester, seconded the resolution.

Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN expressed the hope that the example of the Bey of Tunis would be recommended to the adoption of all Christian rulers, any portion of whose subjects might still remain in slavery. (Cheers.)

A Committee, consisting of the following Delegates, was then appointed:—Messrs. Lewis Tappan, J. W. Wayne, Joseph Sams, and Thomas Swan.

Mr. SCOBLE then read a paper relative to Uruguay, where slavery had been abolished, but not without protests against the proceeding from the ministers of several slave-holding states, no reasons, however, being assigned. It remained to be seen whether the slaves would be emancipated in fact, as they now were by the law of the republic of Uruguay. Mr. Scoble concluded by moving that the papers connected with this subject form part of the records of the Convention. The motion was seconded by Mr. JOSEPH SAMS, and carried unanimously.

Mr. SCOBLE presented a "Report on the progress of Treaties with Foreign Powers, for the suppression of the Slave-trade;" which, on the motion of Mr. G. STACEY, seconded by Mr. EDWARD CARROLL, was unanimously adopted,

Mr. SCOBLE then laid before the Convention a Report on the African Slave-trade with Brazil.

The Rev. J. BENNETT moved, and Mr. G. PILKINGTON seconded, that the Report form part of the records of the Convention.

Mr. WILLIAM FORSTER moved, that the Report which was laid before the Convention by Mr. Scoble, on the subject of the African slave-trade with Cuba and Brazil, be referred to a Committee, to consider how far they can be made more practically useful; and that the following gentlemen be such Committee:—Messrs. G. Stacey, J. Sturge, J. Bennett, L. Tappan, S. Bowley, and Joshua Leavitt.

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. FORSTER moved, and Mr. SAMUEL BOWLEY seconded, the following preamble and resolution:—"That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society having sent out to the United States of America a series of queries, with a view of obtaining correct information on the present state of slavery in that country, and answers to those queries having been received and presented to this Convention;

"Resolved, That the whole of the said written communications, some of which have been already under the notice of the Convention, be referred to the Committee appointed this morning on certain American papers, and that they be requested likewise to report thereon."

After some discussion, the resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT, in consequence of some remarks made by Mr. J. C. Fuller in the morning, was then called upon to state the history and objects of the liberty party in the United States. Mr. L. said, that the liberty party was one formed for the purpose of putting in nomination, and supporting candidates, for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential chairs, Governors of States, Members of Congress and State Legislatures, &c., men of known upright and abolition principles, without reference to their political opinions in other respects. He went, at considerable length, into the history, progress, and prospects of this effort to abolitionize the legislature and executive of the entire Union.

Mr. J. C. FULLER, who was opposed to this mode of procedure, followed; confirming, however, much that Mr. Leavitt had stated. The

discussion threw considerable light on a topic with which many of the members of the Convention were previously very imperfectly acquainted, and gave general satisfaction. At the close the Committee adjourned till Monday morning.

## MONDAY MORNING.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., in the chair. After the usual period of devotional silence, and the minutes of Saturday's proceedings having been read and confirmed,

Mr. MACGREGOR LAIRD, of Glasgow, came forward to propose a series of resolutions in favour of free emigration from the coast of Africa to the West India islands. He said he regretted he could not congratulate the meeting upon the progress of the cause of the African race since the Anti-Slavery Convention held three years since. If they looked to the western hemisphere, or the condition of the slaves of Brazil, Cuba, and the southern states of America, he would ask them did they witness any alleviation in the condition of the negro? Did they see any improvement even on the coast of Africa? (Hear, hear.) The system of treaty-making for the suppression of slavery had most signally failed. (Hear, hear.) When treaty-making was commenced by this country, it began with bribery. In 1814, a treaty was made with Portugal, and this country had given to her a bribe of 600,000*l.* to give up nominally the slave trade, except for the supply of her own colonies. In 1817, another treaty was made with the same power; the Mixed Commission Courts were established, and so matters remained, the sea swarming with Portuguese slavers until the year 1839, when the law was taken into our own hands, and an act was passed which authorised our cruisers to treat Portuguese slave traders captured by them as British subjects. That was repealed last year, and we got another treaty, or piece of parchment, and the result of all the bribing and treating was that in 1840, forty-eight Portuguese slavers were condemned at Sierra Leone. (Cheers.) The speaker then referred to Spain and the various treaties which had been entered into with that and other countries to put down slavery, the whole of which had been inoperative. He also contended, at considerable length, that if the British Government had been sincere, why had they not enforced the ratification of treaties for the extermination of the slave-trade? There were plenty of Anti-Slave-Trade treaties—they had forty-four of them. It was quite a business at the Foreign Office. Forty-four treaties, and yet the slave-trade continued! Why, those treaties were so many sops to the national conscience. Lord J. Russell had truly observed that the slave-trade would never be put down by the means hitherto adopted—thousands of lives and millions of money had been expended, and yet that trade continued. A change, however, had come over persons in the Foreign Office on this subject. What had been the result of the treaties—the "dodge"? Because they found out that there was some alleged diminution of the importation of slaves into Cuba, they attributed that fact to the influence of the treaties. There was no such result. The commissioners at Sierra Leone had declared, and truly, that there would be no extermination of the slave-trade until this country treated all vessels, all flags as British flags. He did not want to promote a war on the subject—though he thought it would be the holiest war that was ever commenced. It was true there was a diminution of the slave trade, but it was not attributable to the treaties, but was caused by the commercial depression in Cuba and Brazil, and to nothing else. (Hear, hear.) The slave trade would be carried on so long as there was a demand for slaves. If all our vessels were engaged in its suppression, that would be the case—but with increased severity to the unfortunate negroes. The profit was so great that it would cover the risk. Expenses to endeavour to destroy that trade had cost us much—229,000*l.* last year. But this nation would grudge no expense he believed—so strongly did the nation feel the guilt of its former conduct; he believed it would not grudge millions, if by such expenditure they could suppress the trade. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER inquired whether these remarks were not prefatory?

The CHAIRMAN said he was of that opinion, though it was difficult to limit a speaker who was opening a question.

Mr. M. LAIRD resumed. These details he deemed requisite. He had a remedy to propose for the extermination of the trade, but as it was different from anything hitherto adopted, it was requisite for him to show generally what had been done, and to justify what he should propose. Sierra Leone had been established to put down the slave-trade, but even in its streets the slave-trade had been carried on. 80,000*l.* a-year—it used to be 150,000*l.*—was spent in sustaining the colony. The failure of Sierra Leone was conspicuously proved. He regretted it, but it was the fact. Why, so signal was the failure, that it was notoriously the cheapest place to purchase slave ships and slaves. (Hear, hear.) Unless civilization of some sort were achieved among the Africans, these things would go on. He mentioned nothing but facts. They were too little known—they had been kept too much in the back ground, but they ought to be generally promulgated. The remedy was civilization. He had to propose an agency that did not exist at present to accomplish such object. We had expended 20,000,000*l.* to achieve the extinction of slavery in the British dominions. We spoke of that sum often, but the less we said about it the better. We only paid the interest of that amount—we left posterity to pay the money, and it would be paid when the national debt was paid. (Cheer and laughter.) He declared that there was no hope of exterminating the slave-trade until they could undersell the slaveholders, and to accomplish that object was the aim of the plan he now had to propose. He submitted it to the Government in 1840; but it was laid aside for the scheme proposed by Mr. Turnbull, who had since been compelled to leave Cuba. The remedy of Sir T. F. Buxton, he believed, he might view as being at an end. Also that of Mr. Z. Macaulay. What he should propose was, to establish a bridge between Africa and the West Indies toll-free; and he would never cease until he had accomplished such object. There were 3,000,000 in slavery in America; how long would they be so, if the cotton-growers could be undersold? The owners might be convinced of the sin of slavery—they were; but so long as they could make one cent profit they would proceed. Undersell them, and the slave population of America, of Cuba, of Brazil, &c., which amounted to 7,000,000, would be converted into a free coloured population. By no other means would they exterminate slavery, but by underselling the slave-holders. He, however, would have his bridge—if they would allow him to have his simile—toll-free both ways; so that, if the negroes did not like their

position, they might go back. That would cure the evil—and was it not just? But he would have the bridge toll-free both ways, and maintained as such by the colonies. (Hear.) Mr. Laird concluded by moving a series of resolutions to the effect that it was the duty of the Convention to support all plans which would carry out the principle of free labour in opposition to that of slave labour, provided such plans are consistent with the moral, religious, and pacific principles avowed by the Convention. That the slave-trade carried on upon the Atlantic was caused by the demand in the western world for slaves to cultivate sugar, coffee, and other tropical productions, and to destroy that demand for slaves it was necessary to produce, at a cheaper rate, by free labour, which could be carried out by the purchase of unoccupied lands in the West Indies. That, to effect this, it was necessary that all restrictions on the free emigration of the negro race should be abolished, and emigration carried out by Her Majesty's Government. That at all times the emigrants shall have a right to demand a free passage from the colonies to the place whence they came; and that a petition to this effect be presented to Parliament.

Mr. J. MURRAY, of Glasgow, in seconding the resolutions, said he believed that the plan they suggested was the only one for securing the entire abolition of slavery.

Colonel NICHOLLS fully admitted that free labour was better than slave labour; but, with respect to Mr. Laird's resolutions, he wanted to know where the free labourers in Africa were to be got? (Hear, hear.) In that country they were all masters and slaves (hear); and he thought that the course proposed by Mr. Laird would tend to encourage slavery in Africa. He opposed the resolutions, thinking it better to improve the Africans in their own country than to take them away from it. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. H. HINTON said it appeared hard to oppose free emigration. He opposed that which would be free emigration only in name; that he must resist; it would not be, it could not be, free emigration. The resolutions would not accomplish what Mr. Macgregor Laird proposed to effect. The resolution must, and ought to fall to the ground. There were no free negroes in Africa: they were all the slaves of their chiefs, and they could not quit without the approbation of their chiefs, and that approbation must be purchased. Then the slave-trade would be revived, and all its horrors, the tale of which was still untold. They could get no Africans without purchase. But they were to be brought away by her Majesty's vessels: that would be to make the British Government the great slave trader. Such resolutions—such scheme—could not for a moment be entertained. They could not support such resolutions. There was something behind that was not very visible; it was an indirect method to revive slavery in the West Indies. He would say—let the West India proprietors treat the population properly which they already possessed, and they would not require any importation of adults from Africa. (Hear, hear.) As to free labour underselling the products of the slaveholders, its practicability had been by no means proved. He must give his decided negative to these resolutions. He was against proposing "the previous question," because he thought that the resolutions contained a sentiment which it became that Convention to negative and condemn. (Cheers.)

Mr. SCOBLE defended the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and denied that they had been in any way parties to treaties supported by physical force. They had, he said, presented an address to Lord Palmerston, thanking him, not for treaties for the suppression of slavery, as those treaties could only be enforced by means at variance with the constitution of the society, but for his lordship's exercising the moral force of England to induce other nations to abolish slavery,—(great cheering)—and thus carrying out the recommendations of the last Convention. (Renewed cheering.) The Committee felt it was their duty and their honour to thank his lordship for doing so. (Great applause.) Objections had been taken to the plan of transporting African labourers to our West India colonies. They were all agreed on the point, that it was open to the most serious objections, and ought not to be supported by the people of this country. The West India planters had prevailed upon Government to carry this measure for their own interests, without regarding the general interests of our colonies, that of the people of this country, or of the Africans themselves. If money was given to the chiefs of Africa, they could find emigrants enough; but without that they could not be obtained.

The Rev. JOHN CLARKE, of Fernando Po, proceeded to give a shocking picture of the present mode of exporting labourers from the coast of Africa to that place, under the plea that they were free emigrants. He had been in a vessel containing Africans who were said to be free agents, but they evidently had no voice in the matter; they were brought on board naked, and the men who brought them received as payment for them, clothes, pieces of cloth, and other matters. (Hear.) To prove the feelings of the men themselves, he would just mention the fact that six swam away at night, and escaped, and the others had to be kept below until the vessel got on the coast of a hostile tribe, when they were again allowed on deck. The unfortunate negroes themselves did not receive any payment; the kings and chiefs were paid. He did not think there could be any such thing as free emigration from Africa. The only thing which could be done for the African race, was to enlighten them,—(great cheering);—and they are prepared for the reception of instruction. (Cheers.) The reverend gentleman, in confirmation of this, read two letters from African chiefs, begging for some "small cotton-tree and coffee to grow, and man to teach, to make country come up and proper, and sell for trade, and send man to teach book, and teach for understand God, all same white man, and if queen do so, must do good things for her, and queen and young king trust live long and proper. (Signed) King Ergo Honesty." The other epistle was in the same strain, from Eyamber, his Majesty the King of all the Blacks, who hoped "Queen Victoria and young prince live long time, and we shall get good friends." The letters caused much laughter and applause.

Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN, of New York, supported the latter view of the question, and declared it to be his conviction that, as education spread in Africa, in exactly the same ratio would slavery decrease, until at last it would be entirely abolished. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MACGREGOR LAIRD replied. He did not propose to ransom the Africans, but to receive them if they would come. If there were vessels on the rivers to receive all who chose to come, would that be buying

them? There were societies in the Northern States of America to sustain and assist all runaway slaves, and very honourable conduct that was; no one complained of it. And yet, where was the difference in principle of that plan and the one he proposed, to have vessels ready to receive those who might choose to come to them? (Hear.) He saw none; therefore he considered that the policy of his propositions had not been disproved. (Hear.) Various captains, and other parties, had borne testimony that there were many Africans free, and ready to emigrate; that there was as much freedom for emigration as existed between this country and Canada. It was never discovered that those Africans were not free, until it was proposed to afford them the opportunity of emigrating from Africa to the West Indies. He concluded with calling on the Convention to establish "a London-bridge between Africa and the West Indies." It was the only chance of enabling these poor oppressed Africans to escape from their oppression. (Cries of "No, no.") He felt that he had conscientiously done his duty in bringing this subject forward. (Hear.)

The resolutions were then put to the vote: they were supported only by the mover and seconder; all the other members of the Convention were against them.—Resolutions negatived.

The Convention then separated till four o'clock.

#### EVENING SITTING.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., in the chair.

The Rev. T. Scales read a minute that had been prepared by the Committee appointed for that purpose, expressive of sympathy for Sir T. F. Buxton, on account of his inability, from indisposition, to attend the sittings of the Convention, and expressive of the high sense entertained of his powerful and constant exertions to abolish slavery. The minute, on the motion of Dr. RITCHIE, seconded by Mr. SCOBLE, was unanimously adopted.

A report was presented regarding the condition of slavery in the Danish colonies, founded on papers, &c., presented on Saturday. It strongly recommended an appeal to the ruling authorities in Denmark to adopt measures to enforce the extinction of slavery in such colonies.

Mr. JOHN ALLEN moved, and Mr. P. CLARE seconded, "that the report and recommendation be received, and referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to carry out such recommendations," which was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. H. H. KELLOG, from America, addressed the Convention on the legal aspect of slavery in the United States. He proceeded to deny that the American constitution in any way sanctioned the present system of slavery, and that although Congress did create slavery in the district of Columbia, they had exercised a power which, under the constitution, did not exist. Notwithstanding that of the United States of America, one-half were slave-owning States, and the other half not, and that the slave-owning States returned to the legislature 97 members out of 164, still the progress of the anti-slavery cause was very great. (Hear.) In New York the last vestige of slavery had been wiped from the statute-book. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN (Samuel Gurney, Esq.) here intimated that he was called elsewhere by an indispensable engagement, and took his final leave of the Convention in a brief address expressive of the deep interest he had taken in its proceedings.

Mr. FREEK (one of the Vice-Presidents) was called upon to preside.

Mr. J. CANNINGS FULLER remarked, in reference to Mr. Kellog's statements, that it was useless to mince matters. There were only four States in the whole Union in which there were not slaves; and he took it for granted, that where slaves existed, slavery was allowed by law.

The Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD then presented a report from the Committee on the papers submitted to them on a former day, regarding the existence and extent of slavery in the United States of America: it consisted of a synopsis of such papers. It was agreed, on the motion of Capt. Stuart, seconded by Mr. S. Bowley, "That the papers submitted to this Convention by the American delegates be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to publish, on behalf of the Convention, so much of them as they may deem expedient."

Mr. SCOBLE moved the appointment of a Committee, to consist of the following Delegates, to prepare a report on the state of slavery in Texas, with the view of facilitating the business still before the Convention:—Messrs. G. Stacey, J. Sturge, J. Leavitt, A. Phelps, J. Forster, and J. H. Hinton.

The motion was seconded by Rev. J. Carlile, and carried unanimously.

Mr. SCOBLE then presented a report on the progress of the cause in France, and the prospect of extinguishing slavery in the French colonies. The information was chiefly derived from the publications of the French Anti-Slavery Society, assembling in Paris. It had sent forth many pamphlets and reports, containing most valuable information; and showing that the anti-slavery cause in France had made considerable progress. The report also adverted to the state of the law of France regarding slavery, and confidently expressed the conviction that the cause of the extinction of slavery in the French colonies was safe. At the same time he (Mr. Scoble) deemed it right to suggest that the papers herein be referred to a Committee, with the view of preparing a document to the Government of France, urging the necessity, policy, and justice of adopting measures to extinguish slavery in the French colonies as early as possible.

J. BUDGE, Esq., of Redruth, moved, "That the papers now brought under the attention of the Convention relative to slavery in the French colonies be referred to a Committee, who are hereby requested to draft an address to the Committee of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery founded thereon." The Committee to consist of the Rev. J. Woodward, Rev. J. H. Hinton, and Messrs. J. Finlay and J. Dunlop.

Rev. J. W. RICHARDSON, of Hull, seconded the motion, which was carried.

The following proposition, suggested by Mr. A. BUFFUM, of Indiana, was then moved by Mr. J. STURGE, and seconded by Mr. G. KNOX:—"That a Committee be now appointed, to be composed, as far as practicable, of persons representing the various sections of the Christian church, to prepare a faithful address to all who profess to be the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ in America, and all those countries in which slavery is yet tolerated, expressing the sentiments of this Convention. First, on the sinfulness of slavery. Secondly, on the duty of Christian professors to be faithful in the use of means for putting an end to such

crying sins. The following to be the Committee:—Rev. Thomas Swan, Rev. Dr. Ritchie, Rev. Dr. Campbell, George Knox, Samuel Bowley, Rev. James Carlile, W. T. Blair, James Standfield, Rev. James Wilson, Thomas Garland, and the Rev. J. Harding."

The Rev. H. WILSON, of the central corresponding committee for the coloured population of Upper Canada, now amounting to 12,000, proceeded to lay before the Convention a statement of the beneficial effects of giving protection to the refugee slaves from the slave states of America, and made some interesting statements relative to the condition and prospects of those fugitives from oppression. He condemned the prejudices which existed amongst the white population of Canada against the coloured people, to mitigate which strenuous exertions were being made, and were producing beneficial results.

Mr. C. J. METCALFE moved, and the Rev. J. STOCK seconded, "That a committee be appointed to report on the subject now brought before them, to consist of the following delegates:—Rev. H. Wilson, J. C. Fuller, J. Crewdson, Captain Stuart, W. Johnson, J. Marriage, jun., W. T. Blair, J. Richardson, and the Rev. Dr. Ritchie."

Captain CHARLES STUART passed a warm eulogium upon the character of Mr. Wilson, as developed in his intercourse with the coloured population and fugitive slaves of Canada.

Mr. SCONLE suggested the question, as to how the fugitive slaves in Canada would be affected by the tenth article of the Washington treaty? If a slave could be pursued into Canada, there was no reason why he could not also be followed into England. (Hear, hear.)

It was understood that this subject would form part of that to which the committee just appointed would direct their attention.

Mr. SCOBLE then laid on the table papers relative to the state of the abolition cause in the South American republics, Uruguay, Buenos Ayres, Columbia, Venezuela, and Peru, and moved that such papers do form part of the records of the Convention. He afterwards presented a report, in reply to queries drawn up by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on slavery in that country; and briefly addressed the Convention on the importance of this subject, particularly dwelling on the fact that there were now about one million of slaves in Brazil, who had been introduced contrary to treaties with this country, and to the law of that empire. He regretted that at this late period of the sittings of the Convention it was impossible to do more than lay these papers before it.

Mr. J. T. PRICE moved, and Mr. G. W. ANSTIE seconded, "That this Convention refer the report on Brazilian slavery, and other questions connected with it, to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with a view to an address being prepared by them, to the people and Government of Brazil, or to dispose of in such other way as they may deem advisable."

The Convention then adjourned until Tuesday morning.

#### TUESDAY MORNING.

JOHN CROPPER, jun., Esq., in the chair. After the usual period of devotional silence, and the minutes of the preceding day having been read and confirmed,

Mr. J. T. PRICE moved, and Mr. W. BALL seconded, "That in lieu of the resolution of yesterday, directing the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to address the people and Government of Brazil, the following gentlemen be a committee to prepare the draft of such an address, to issue from this Convention:—Messrs. T. Garland, G. Stacey, G. Pilkington, J. T. Price, and W. Ball."

The subject of Texas was then introduced.

The Rev. AMOS PHELPS, of the Massachusetts Society, submitted some very extensive and important details regarding the state of slavery in Texas. Every effort was making to unite Texas with the other states. It was, in almost every point of view, a question of life or death with America. If it formed part of the Union, it would divide interests and profits with the other slaveholding states. If it became a free state, which was the desire of the Texans, that would alarm the slaveholding states, inasmuch as there would be difficulty to get back runaway slaves. If one or the other did not take place—and either would better suit the Americans than its re-annexation to Mexico—then slavery would be abolished, in accordance with the Mexican decrees; and then there would be a most dangerous free and non-slaveholding state immediately contiguous to the slaveholding states of America, and consequently affording an alarming asylum to the slaves in neighbouring states. The importance of the struggle concerning Texas might hence be imagined. (Hear, hear.) He then read several of most important and interesting documents regarding the present condition of the slaves of Texas. One publication represented that the project of making Texas a free state was propounded by many Texans, on the ground that if they did so, and proclaimed emancipation, they should have the benefit of emigration from the free states, and the sympathy of Europe, and England in particular, which perhaps might make them some "compensation" for their slaves. (Cheers and laughter.) They would also derive profit from the sale of lands. In reply to that, another publication, patronized by President Houston, doubted whether the numerous "English incendiaries," now traversing the country, would not too strongly and dangerously expose them to the "meddling spirit of the British Government," and authorize the chafing of them by constant interference. Another publication set forth, that, by making Texas a free state, and proclaiming emancipation, they might calculate on a general revolt in the slaveholding states of America. Those extracts would show the various opinions that now agitated Texas, and all those interested in the question connected with Texas. (Hear, hear.) Letters from Texas, published in the *New Orleans Bee*, in May, expressed the greatest apprehensions for that country, in consequence of the mischievous doctrines disseminated by advocates of the anti-slavery combination or conspiracy; asking how should it be otherwise when those advocates were men of talent, character, and station? (Hear.) They were declared to be preaching abolition within the states, and with considerable success. (Hear.) They called upon the people to be chivalrous, and rout out such mischievous persons; to act as became "independent" men, and defeat the efforts of British capitalists and the enemies of their industry, wealth, and enterprise. They also spoke of the constant efforts, on the part of the slaves in Texas, to escape into Mexico, a proceeding

countenanced by the restless conduct of the British, who were emancipationists wherever they were. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STACEY said, these documents being of such recent date, and of so much interest, they had deemed it right to submit them to the Government, and they had, therefore, on Monday afternoon sought and had an interview with our Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Aberdeen. His lordship was besought to use all practicable and becoming influence to accomplish the abolition of slavery in Texas. His lordship expressed his willingness so to act and the deep interest the Government took in the question, but observed that they felt themselves somewhat similarly situated regarding that country as they were with Spain. Such being the fact, it would be impossible for the Government to interfere otherwise than diplomatically; it could only proceed through authorized agency, by the customary means and organs. They could not in any way countenance any underhand means. That was his impression of the Earl of Aberdeen's representation to them. Perhaps it would be unnecessary to say more regarding such interview. It was gratifying to find the Foreign Secretary so desirous of doing all in his power officially to exterminate slavery. It would be for that Convention, and those connected with them, to lose no opportunity of promoting the extermination of slavery in Texas, as elsewhere, and to secure the co-operation of our Foreign Secretary whenever they could. (Hear.)

Mr. DORAN MAILLARD said there could be no difficulty in the abolition of slavery in Texas, as the whole number did not exceed 12,000 or 13,000, of whom a large number were hired from America. (Hear, hear.) The abolition movement in Texas is the child of necessity, but it is right that the Convention should learn that they still propose to hire slaves from the Americans, and keep them as free labourers. It is utterly impossible for Texas to do without negro labour; white men cannot labour or stand the climate during some parts of the year. (Hear.)

Mr. LEWIS TAPPEN, of New York, asked if there were not portions of Texas which were suitable for Europeans?

Mr. D. MAILLARD: No; the climate throughout the country is bad. I believe there is no country in the world in which the slaves are worse treated than in Texas; but their owners are of the worst class of men, the outcasts of the United States, and, in communicating with their government, the utmost caution ought to be observed.

The Rev. J. BLANCHARD, of the Ohio state, admitted the very great importance of the documents which had been produced and quoted from, but, from his knowledge of some of the characters in Texas, owing to the extraordinary state of society in Texas, he deemed it right to suggest that too much confidence ought not to be placed in what was printed and published in or written from Texas or New Orleans. (Hear.)

The Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT said the annexation of Texas with the United States is regarded by us as the thing upon which slavery must stand or fall in America. (Hear.) It was political power alone that maintained slavery, and when that power was gone all the other influences would be brought to bear against it with unbroken force, and sweep it away. (Applause.) To enoble slavery, and to redeem it from its odious and mean character, it was determined to seize Texas and Mexico. In April, 1842, these views were propounded by Mr. Wyse in his place in Congress, and, strange as it may appear, that man was subsequently appointed ambassador at Paris, for the purpose of carrying out this daring and damnable conspiracy. (Hear, hear.) [The speaker was here interrupted by the cheering which Lord Morpeth's appearance elicited. The noble lord bowed to the Convention, and took his seat on the right of the chairman, amidst enthusiastic applause.] Mr. Leavitt continued: I am glad of the interruption at this particular period, because I was most anxious to declare in the hearing of Lord Morpeth that the policy of the slave-owners was indicated by the speech of Mr. Wyse. There was one man in the Congress who stood in the way of this nefarious project—John Quincy Adams, who, in his 75th year, retained all the vigour of his intellect and force of eloquence (cheers)—he came to the fixed determination to resist this nefarious conspiracy, at whatever hazard (cheers); having served his country with honour, and having a reputation and good name to leave as an inheritance to his children, and being desirous of passing his remaining years in peace and quietness among his fellow countrymen, he threw all on the hazard, and boldly opposed and denounced the proposition. (Great cheering.) He knew, too, that he was surrounded by men who have no reluctance to shed blood—duellists and fighters by profession, who go at all times armed that they may be ever prepared to gratify their revenge—he was surrounded by a set of assassins who he knew would not hesitate to take his life. Adams stood alone and placed his life in jeopardy, and defeated and exposed the conspiracy. (Enthusiastic applause.) For that he was persecuted, and an attempt was made to pass a vote of censure upon and expel him from Congress. The inquiry lasted many days, and I saw with delight the noble lord (Morpeth) in daily attendance, and taking a deep interest in the proceedings. (Great cheering.) The proposers of this measure were defeated, and compelled to withdraw their motion. (Great cheering.) But the slave owners were still determined and bent upon their purpose, which was to seize Texas through an invasion of Mexico, with the full understanding that they were in that war to be supported by France. (Hear, hear.) I left America before the result of the discussions on the Quadruple Treaty in the French Chamber of Deputies was known; and that was all part of the same conspiracy. (Hear, hear.) The subject was again discussed in Congress on the question of sending an ambassador to Mexico, and the determination of the slave-owners was to plunge America into a war with this country, upon the case of the Creole alone; and it was distinctly declared by them, "We must have compensation for the slaves, or war." On that occasion, Mr. Wyse made another speech, and was triumphantly answered by Mr. Adams. (Cheers.) The intention of plunging America into a war for slavery with this country was abandoned; but the necessity of the case shows that it was only for a moment. (Hear.) The slave-owners are a desperate set, and will obtain Texas if they can do so by any means. If slavery were to-morrow abolished in Texas, I am not quite sure that it would not be re-established. (Hear, hear.) As long as slavery exists in the United States, so long will Texas be a cause of danger and war to all the nations of the world. (Hear, and cheers.)

Mr. LEWIS TAPPEN, of New York, said,—It appears, from the extracts which have been read, that a discussion is going on which must insure human liberty, and place an everlasting barrier against the introduction of slavery into the vast region of Texas. (Cheers.) The Texan is

the great question before the emancipators of the world. (Hear, hear.) Here is a country as large as France, and, notwithstanding what has been said here to-day, I assert, from the information of disinterested persons, with a climate as mild as that of France, and with a soil fertile as that of Egypt: in this republic there are now but 80,000 free inhabitants, and 20,000 slaves. True, it has acquired a bad name. In fact, when an officer cannot arrest a party, he writes on the writ, instead of the usual return, "G. T. T.," which means "Gone to Texas," (laughter;) but it nevertheless possesses many men of high character and the greatest respectability. (Cheers.) At present the Texans are in great pecuniary distress, and are driven almost to a state of despair, so much so that it is rumoured that they are willing to become a British colony. (Hear.) Emigration is completely at a stand-still; in fact, there are more leaving than coming into the country. (Hear.) It has been intimated that an act annexing Texas to the United States will be introduced on the meeting of the next session of Congress. The slave-owners will have the boldness so to say that they will risk a war with this country for the attainment of their projects; and they say, if the northern states feel that they would be injured, "let them go and take possession of the Canadas." (Loud laughter.) I venture to say, now is the time for Great Britain to step in and use her moral and political influence, and put down slavery and establish freedom (great cheering). In a conversation which I had with John Quincy Adams on that subject, he said, "I deem it the duty of Great Britain, as a Christian nation, to tell the Texans that slavery must be abolished (cheers); that it shall not be planted there after all the efforts and sacrifices that have been made to abolish it all over the world" (enthusiastic cheers). "The annexation of Texas will," he said, "be leading topic next session, but I will oppose it with all the vigour and talent that God has given me (renewed cheers). If slavery is abolished in Texas, it must speedily fall throughout America; and when it falls in America, it will expire throughout Christendom" (great cheering). I would wish, continued the speaker, to make an appeal to the Christians of Great Britain, of every denomination, to use their influence in all proper ways to influence Christian churches in the United States to co-operate in the furtherance of this great object, and that if they do not do so, that this society will provide those who will." (Great cheering.)

Mr. THOMAS GARLAND proposed the following resolutions:—"That in the deliberate judgment of this Convention the annexation of Texas to the United States would be used by the slave-holding power of the South for the purpose of extending the internal slave-trade, and thus perpetuating slavery on the American continent; that it is, therefore, most earnestly deprecated by this body, as one of the greatest calamities which could befall the human race, and ought to be strenuously resisted by all the friends of justice and freedom; on both sides of the Atlantic, by every available and legitimate means."

"That this Convention, having learned from various sources that a lively interest is awakened and gathering strength throughout Texas in favour of emancipation as essential to the prosperity and security of that state, is persuaded that the British government, which has already recognised its independence, might at this crisis render the most important aid and encouragement to the cause of human liberty and happiness by giving countenance and sanction to the efforts of those who are struggling to terminate slavery in Texas and constitute it a free state; and this Convention earnestly recommends to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to consider how they may best serve this cause, and especially to memorize the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs on the subject, and to assure him that any measure which the Government, in its discretion, may adopt for the promotion of the abolition of slavery in the republic of Texas, and which may not be at variance with the principles of this Convention, will meet with the very cordial support of the anti-slavery body."

Mr. CHARLES FOX seconded the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

The Rev. T. SCALES said the name of a man has been mentioned as standing prominent in this glorious cause—a name dear not only to America, but to every nation in which freedom is valued—John Quincy Adams. (Applause.) I feel it would be a most appropriate sequel to the resolutions just adopted to propose a vote expressive of our esteem and gratitude to that bold assertor of the rights of humanity. (Great cheering.) Mr. Scales was about to propose the resolution, when the Convention unanimously called for

Lord MORPETH, who came forward amidst enthusiastic and long continued cheering. His lordship said, I cannot deny myself the privilege which your kindness has afforded me of my name going forth as the mover of the resolution. (Cheers.) I consider the motion I am to submit as a most proper one for this Convention to adopt. (Applause.) It has been my privilege to see Mr. Adams stand undaunted by difficulties—by difficulties that might well daunt a man of feeble intellect and less courage. (Great cheering.) His lordship, after pronouncing a glowing and eloquent eulogium on Mr. Adams, proposed the following resolution, and resumed his seat amidst great cheering:—"That this Convention views with extreme interest the important position relative to the cause of human freedom now held by the venerable John Quincy Adams, formerly President of the United States; and while admiring the moral heroism with which he has thrown himself into the breach, we will not cease our prayers to the Giver of all good gifts, that his hands may be strengthened for the great work to which he has given himself, and that his valuable life may be mercifully prolonged until he shall witness the abolition of slavery, not only in his own country, but throughout the world."

The Rev. T. SCALES seconded the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. LEAVITT bore testimony to the earnestness of Mr. Adams in this cause. It was for that only that he seemed desirous to live. Though seventy-six years of age, he was indefatigable in the performance of his duties; he was the first in the house, and the last to leave it. If health and life were spared, he would continue the struggle for the extermination of slavery. He (Mr. L.) had received a letter a few days before he left America from Mr. Adams. He would read it. It was as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—My health, I hope, is improving. I have only to say Gon bless you and your enterprise, from which I have no other prayer to make than that its success may herald the hour of my *morte dimittit*.  
"Rev. Joshua Leavitt."

"T. Q. ADAMS."  
The resolution was then put, and carried by acclamation.

14th May, 1843.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., laid some interesting documents before the Convention, on the moral and general advancement of the emancipated slave population in the British West India islands, from which it appeared that crime there was smaller, when compared with the number of the inhabitants, than in any part of England.

Rev. JOHN CLARK gave additional information on the same subject from personal observation. The change for the better was cheering and delightful in the extreme. Freedom was working well in all the West India islands, and in all the British colonies where liberty had been given to the slave. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel NICHOLLS enumerated some facts that redounded to the credit of the emancipated negro, and deprecated the idea of swamping such a population by emigration from Africa.

The Rev. W. DUGGAN (a negro from Jamaica and one of the Rev. Mr. Clark's missionary party,) said that the money voted by the British Parliament for the emancipation of the slaves had not been in vain. They were reaping the fruits of it. He addressed the meeting powerfully and effectively, calling on the English to carry out their great work of slave emancipation, by securing the means of education to the enfranchised negroes. (He declared himself to be self-educated.) He bore testimony to the industry, good conduct, persevering honesty, and thriftiness of the African race in our West India colonies, and earnestly and emphatically proclaimed that such provision alone was wanting to perfect the good work in which the benevolence and sense of justice evidenced by England had been so honourably engaged, and to advance the cause of the amelioration of the whole human race. (Hear.)

Mr. A. BUFFUM moved, and Mr. EDWARD PALK seconded, "That the several papers which had been presented and referred to, be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with a view to their publication." The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Several reports and documents were presented, after which the Convention adjourned until four o'clock.

#### EVENING SITTING.

The delegates assembled at four o'clock. JOHN CROPPER, jun., Esq., in the chair.

The business of the afternoon sitting was commenced by the Rev. J. W. WAYNE reading an address to the religious communities of the United States, deprecating the prejudices entertained against the coloured people of that country by their fellow-citizens.—The address was, on the motion of the Rev. J. W. WAYNE, seconded by Mr. W. SHOTWELL, unanimously adopted.

Rev. T. SCALES read an address to his Highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis, eulogising his efforts to abolish slavery, by which he had lost a large annual revenue.

Mr. J. SAMS moved the adoption of the address.

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., in seconding the motion, said that it was due to Sir Thomas Reade, the British Consul at Tunis, to state that these successful results were greatly owing to his exertions. (Hear.)

The Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT, U.S., contrasted the noble sentiments and self-denying conduct of what we had been used to call a barbarian prince with that of the President of the great American republic, who was himself a slave-holder. He trusted that it was the last time that a slave-holder would ever occupy that important office. (Hear.)

The address was then adopted.

SAMUEL BOWLEY, Esq., read an address to professing Christians in America and all parts of the world to set their faces against every kind of slavery, as inconsistent with their profession as followers of the doctrines of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The address was, on the motion of Mr. W. T. BLAIR, seconded by Mr. L. TAPPAN, after some discussion, adopted.

Mr. JAMES RICHARDSON submitted a report in reference to those slaves retained illegally in bondage in the colonies of Spain and Portugal.

The following resolutions were, on the motion of Mr. J. MURRAY, seconded by Mr. I. CREWDSON, ordered to be presented to Lord Aberdeen:

"That this Convention has learned with lively satisfaction that the late administration of the government of Great Britain has demanded from the government of Spain the restoration to liberty of all those persons in the Spanish colonies who have been introduced contrary to the treaty between the two countries for the abolition of the slave-trade.

"That this Convention has also been apprised that the present ministry of England are equally disposed to demand the faithful performance of the existing slave-trade treaties, in which the happiness and freedom of hundreds of thousands of human beings and of their descendants are involved.

"That the Convention has also been informed that similar demands have been made for the restoration to freedom of persons rescued from slave-ships now detained in Cuba under the name of *emancipados*.

"That it has further been stated to the Convention, that there are many British subjects, who have been carried from islands belonging to Great Britain contrary to law, who are now held as slaves in Cuba.

"That on behalf of these three classes of wretched beings thus unlawfully and wickedly deprived of their liberty, all of whom can be easily identified, this Convention respectfully but earnestly entreats Lord Aberdeen afresh to urge their right to liberty on the Spanish government, and, should such an application be unsuccessful, to adopt all proper means calculated to promote its attainment."

The Rev. Dr. RITCHIE, of Edinburgh, brought up the report of the committee appointed to consider the effect of the 10th article of the Ashburton treaty, in reference to the fugitive slaves in Canada. The report and the resolutions consequent thereon gave rise to considerable remark.

Several delegates strongly animadverted upon the 10th article of the treaty, expressing their abhorrence of the very idea of delivering up fugitive slaves to their merciless pursuers.

Dr. LUSHINGTON would give his candid opinion on the subject before them. (Hear, hear.) The article in question, independent of its operation upon slaves, was common in all treaties between countries where there is no slavery, always excepting political offenders; and he was of opinion that it was beneficial. He (Dr. Lushington) would have been better pleased if this 10th article of the treaty had clearly excepted fugitive slaves, by reason of their incapability of defending themselves under the laws of the country into which they might be restored. He would

rather that they should be retained and tried before a British tribunal, and by British law, but to deliver them up where they could get neither justice nor mercy, was inconsistent with our honour as a nation. (Hear, hear, hear.) It appeared clear that the treaty never contemplated the case of fugitive slaves, who need not to be delivered over unless adequate proof was offered as to their guilt. As an illustration, he might mention that some time back an alleged criminal fled from Ireland to the United States, and upon application being made to deliver him up, the authorities declined to interfere, unless sufficient evidence of his guilt was tendered, and upon the evidence brought forward not being satisfactory the man escaped. But he was further bound to say that there was one thing exceedingly difficult to provide for, such as a slave committing murder in order to effect his escape, which would be a puzzling case for any government. The treaty was open to great abuse. He did not say that it would be abused; but he did say that those who wished to make the British name honoured and respected should insist upon an express exception as to fugitive slaves. (Hear, hear.)

After some further discussion the report was ordered to be re-considered by the Committee, with the assistance of Dr. Lushington, and they retired for that purpose.

LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., thought it due to Lord Ashburton to say that his lordship had declared that if he had understood that the treaty had endangered the liberty of fugitive slaves, he never would have consented to it. He understood also that his lordship had recently written to an eminent person, expressing his regret that the clause was worded in the manner it was. (Hear, hear.)

W. T. BLAIR, Esq. embraced the opportunity of the absence of the committee to report the state of the funds. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was £700 in debt previous to the meeting of the Convention, and the carrying out of the orders and objects of the Convention efficiently would induce an enormous additional expenditure. (Hear, hear.) Further and considerable contributions were absolutely requisite. The subscriptions hitherto had come mainly from the Society of Friends; but it was unfair to throw the whole burden entirely upon them. It ought to be shared in by other Christian denominations.

On the return of the committee, Dr. LUSHINGTON read several resolutions, having reference to the escape into the English territories of fugitive slaves from the United States, declaratory of the injustice of delivering them up on the demand of the American authorities, under the sanction of the 10th article of the Ashburton Treaty.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

It was moved by THOMAS GARLAND, Esq., and seconded by J. T. PRICE, Esq., "That, in view of the facts and documents which have been laid before this Convention, it is desirable that a document should be prepared on the duty, safety, and policy of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in all countries where it exists, and that it requests that Joshua Leavitt, G. W. Alexander, Amos A. Phelps, and John Scoble, do prepare such document, to be laid before the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to be by them disposed of as may best advance the objects which this Convention has in view."

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Many documents, reports, and addresses to various parties were then presented and adopted:—An address to the government and people of Brazil; A report on the case of the *Creole*; Report on the people of colour; On the Results of Emancipation in the British Colonies; A paper, by Isaac Taylor, Esq., on Slavery considered in reference to the advance of Religion, &c. &c.

The following resolutions were consecutively adopted:—

"That it is the opinion of this Convention that the anti-slavery cause would be much promoted and strengthened by the formation of anti-slavery societies, founded on the principle of the fundamental guilt of slavery, and of the moral duty of immediate, thorough, and universal emancipation.

"That in order to carry into practical operation the above resolution, the delegates and friends of this Convention be requested to assist in the formation of such societies in their respective cities and neighbourhoods.

"That, in conformity with the precedent of the Convention in 1840, it be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to call another Convention, similar in character and objects to the present, whenever, in their judgment, the cause would be promoted by it."

Votes of thanks were then passed to the Committee and Office bearers of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; to that portion of the press who advocated their cause, and gave publicity to the proceedings of the Convention. A vote of thanks to the Secretaries of the Convention, and to the President and Vice-presidents who had filled the chair, for their ability and efficiency, were also unanimously agreed to.

Rev. J. CARLILE then proposed the following Minute:—

"In closing its important proceedings, the Convention would not separate without devoutly recording its gratitude to Almighty God for the many indications of Divine favour which have attended its successive sittings. The assembling of so many friends of freedom and of man in this city, not only from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, but also from the United States of America, and from other lands; and especially the essential unity that has prevailed during their protracted discussions, demand from the members of this Convention devout expressions of thanksgiving and praise. And recognising the utter inefficiency of any means which human wisdom may devise for the accomplishment of their object, this Convention desire to cherish a deep conviction of the necessity of the Divine blessing in the successful prosecution of their great undertaking; while equally convinced that God is pleased to accomplish his purposes of mercy by human instrumentality, the members of this Convention would solemnly pledge themselves never to swerve from their purpose, nor relax in their efforts, until by the employment of means, *moral*, *religious*, and *pacific* in their character, in humble dependence on the blessing of God, slavery and the slave-trade shall be extinguished throughout the world."

A solemn pause of a few minutes ensued, after which the Convention was dissolved.